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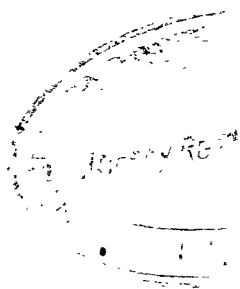
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# The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register



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VOLUME VII: 1921-1922.

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EDITED BY

J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired) and JOHN M. SENAVERATNA, F.R.H.S.

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# The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register.

## CONTENTS OF VOLUME VII.

1921-1922.

### ARTICLES.

	PAGE
I The Karáve Flag. By <i>Lionel de Fonseka</i> ... ..	1
II Northern Province Notes. By <i>J. P. Lewis, C. M. G., C.C.S. (Retd.)</i> ...	12
III Parákrama Báhu the Great. By <i>Harry Storey</i> ... ..	17
IV Some Ancient Plants and Trees of Ceylon. By <i>John M. Senaveratna, F.R.H.S.</i>	23
V Antiquities in the Southern Province : Diary of the late Mr. E. R. Ayrton (Archaeological Commissioner of Ceylon). With notes by <i>John M. Senaveratna, F.R.H.S.</i> ... ..	38
VI The Early History of Botanic Gardens in Ceylon. By <i>T. Petch</i> .. ..	63
VII Hegel's Philosophy of Religion. By <i>W. T. Stace, C.C.S.</i> .. ..	74
VIII Some Ancient Plants and Trees of Ceylon (continued). By <i>John M. Senave- ratna, F.R.H.S.</i> .. ..	90
IX Sinhalese and the Aryan Languages. By <i>M. H. Kantawala, C.C.S.</i> ..	105
X Kandyan Notes (continued). By <i>J. P. Lewis, C. M. G., C.C.S. (Retd.)</i> ..	108
XI Sinhalese and the Aryan Languages (continued.) By <i>M. H. Kantawala, C.C.S.</i>	137
XII The First English School in Ceylon. By <i>L. J. Gratiaen</i> .. ..	141
XIII Popular Cults of the Jaffna District. By <i>Rev. Fr. S. Gnana Prakasar, O.M.I.</i>	148
XIV Some Beliefs among the Sinhalese. By <i>Wilmot P. Wijetunga</i> .. ..	150
XV The Peta-Vatthu (continued.) By <i>Dr. Henry Snyder Gehman, Ph. D.</i> ..	155
XVI Hegel's Philosophy of Religion : A rejoinder to Mr. W. T. Stace, C.C.S. By <i>Rev. Fr. A. M. Verstraeten, S.J.</i> .. ..	164
XVII Plants and Trees of Ceylon. By <i>T. Petch</i> .. ..	169
XVIII The Peta-Vatthu (continued.) By <i>Dr. Henry Snyder Gehman, Ph. D.</i> ..	193
XIX More Kandyan Notes. By <i>J. P. Lewis, C. M. G., C.C.S. (Retd.)</i> .. ..	205
XX Topaz-Topass. By <i>Sir R. C. Temple with Addenda by S. G. P.</i> .. ..	210
XXI Coronation of Sinhalese Kings : Origin of two Customs : The Fig-wood Coro- nation Chair and Right-whorled Chank. By <i>John M. Senaveratna, F.R.H.S.</i> .. ..	220
XXII Sinhalese and the Aryan Languages (concluded.) By <i>M. H. Kantawala, C.C.S.</i>	226

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

	PAGE
1. Glimpses of Ceylon in Dutch Times. By <i>J. P. Lewis, C. M. G., C.C.S. (Retd.)</i>	42
2. Ancient Ruins at Kubukkandana. By <i>W. T. Southorn, C.C.S.</i>	43
3. Curious Papers. By <i>S. G. P.</i>	44
4. General Hay Macdowall. By <i>J. P. Lewis, C. M. G., C.C.S. (Retd.)</i>	45
5. Captain Champion. By <i>T. Petch</i>	47
6. Books on Ceylon. By <i>D. P. E. Hettiarachchi</i>	48
7. Alexander Oswald Brodie. By <i>J. P. Lewis, C. M. G., C.C.S. (Retd.)</i>	114
8. The First Catholic Bishop of Ceylon appointed at the instance of the Ceylon Government. By <i>S. G. P.</i>	115
9. Notes on the "Mahāvamsa" : King Vasabha's Queen : Two Anecdotes. By <i>John M. Senaveratna, F. R. H. S.</i>	116
10. Some Ruins in Jaffna. By <i>Rev. Fr. S. Gnana Prakasar, O.M.I.</i>	118
11. Early British Times. By <i>J. P. Lewis, C. M. G., C.C.S. (Retd.)</i>	121
12. Books on Ceylon. By <i>Arthur A. Perera</i>	122
13. William Granville and Sri Vikrama Rāja Sinha. By <i>J. P. Lewis, C. M. G., C.C.S. (Retd.)</i>	180
14. Diyawadana Nilames of the Daladā Māligāva, Kandy. By <i>T. B. Keppetipola, Basnāyaka Nilame</i>	183
15. Cobra Lore. By <i>H. B. Wickramanayake</i>	183
16. A Civilian of Early British Times : Henry Peter John Layard. By <i>J. P. Lewis, C. M. G., C.C.S. (Retd.)</i>	185
17. List of Adigars from the time of Rāja Sinha II (A.D. 1634). By <i>T. B. Keppetipola, Basnāyaka Nilame</i>	185
18. Notes on the "Mahāvamsa" : Vijaya's 700 followers. By <i>John M. Senaveratna, F. R. H. S.</i>	230
19. A Rice Sower's Chant. By <i>H. Don Clement</i>	232
20. Sitā-aggālā. By <i>T. Petch</i>	233
21. Captain Champion. By <i>J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired)</i>	234
22. Some Portuguese MSS for the History of India. By <i>Rev. Fr. H. Hosten, S. J.</i>	235
23. Some Historical Notes. By <i>R. J. Pereira</i>	237
24. Saccakiriya. By <i>John M. Senaveratna, F.R.H.S.</i>	237

## LITERARY REGISTER.

1. The Kandyan Pensioners or the Last Scions of Sinhalese Royalty	58
2. " " " " " " " "	127
3. Kandyan Traditions, from the "Gazetteer of the Central Province." By <i>J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired)</i>	187
4. Some Sinhalese Folklore Stories. By <i>J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired)</i>	244
5. The Courtesan's Story. By <i>C. A. Kincaid, C.V.O., I.C.S.</i>	246

## ILLUSTRATIONS.

Plate I, The Karāve Flag.	Facing 1
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# The Ceylon Antiquary

and

## Literary Register.

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Part I.

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### THE KARÁVE FLAG.

By LIONEL DE FONSEKA.

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**T**HE Karáve Flag is a document well worthy of antiquarian attention. Its provenance has already been indicated by Mr. E. W. Perera in his monograph on *Sinhalese Banners and Standards*.

The flag holds within its borders a unique collection of antique emblems, many of which were highly expressive not only to the Sinhalese but to all the civilized peoples of the ancient world. Some of these symbols are now obsolete, while a few have remained current to our day. The following is an essay to trace the import of each of the symbols on the Karáve flag, and to render their collective significance as the emblems of the *Kaurava Vanse*.

#### (1) The Sun, Moon and Stars.

The Rajput clans of India adopted the emblems of the sun and the moon, according to their descent from the Solar or Lunar race. The sun and moon were in a special manner the emblems of the Royal house in Ceylon indicating its Kshatriya descent from the Solar and Lunar races. The Ivory Throne in the Brazen Palace at Anurádhapura was adorned with the sun in gold, the moon in silver, and the stars in pearls. The façade of the Old Palace at Kandy was adorned with the same emblems in plaster relief. The sun and moon as emblems of the Royal house of Ceylon figure almost invariably on royal inscriptions and grants. These emblems were not depicted on grants, as is sometimes supposed, as "symbols of perpetuity"—the phrase so common in grants "*as long as the sun and moon endure*," being derived from the royal emblems, not the emblems from the phrase.

The sun-and-moon flag (*ira-handa kodiya*) has long been specially associated with the Kaurava Vanse. According to one tradition, the *Ira-handa kodiya*, the *Makara kodiya*, and the *Rávaná kodiya* were presented by the king to certain Karáve chieftains who defeated a body of Mukkuvars on the coast of Puttalam.

"When Sri Prákrama Báhu Maha Raja," says an old Sinhalese account, "was reigning at Cotta, a hostile people of the name of Mukkara landed in Ceylon and got possession of Puttalam. The King Parákrama Báhu wrote to the three towns Kanchipura, Kaveri-pattanam, and Kilikare, and getting down 7,740 men defeated the Mukkara and snatched the fort of Puttalam from their hands. The names of those who led this army were Vaccha-nattu-dhevarir, Kurukula-nattu-dhevarir, Manikka-Thalaven, Adhi-arasa adappan, Warnesuriya adappan, Kurukula-súriya mudali," Arsa-Nilaitte Mudali, etc. (See letter by Mudaliyar F. E. Gunaratne, in the "*Ceylon Independent*," 11th April, 1921.)

The king on the same occasion granted them certain villages and domains, including Maha-vidiya, and velle-vidiya in Negombo.

The sun-and-moon flag was also the flag of the Four Kórales. According to tradition, "when the god-king Rama proceeded from Devundara to Alutnuwara in great state, with a four-fold army like unto a festival of the gods, the flag emblazoned with the sun and moon was borne in front. Since then the Four Kórales held chief rank."

This explanation is intelligent, but hardly goes far enough. According to Dr. Paul Pieris, the people of the Four Kórales "were considered the most noble of all in Ceylon . . . Some of the families, for instance the Kiravelli, were recognized as representing the true royal stock. The martial prowess of the men of the Four Kórales was always recognized, and their *maha-kodiya*, emblazoned with the sun and moon, was allotted the place of honour in the van of the army." (*Portuguese Era* I. 316.)

We are led to suspect from this that the sun and moon emblems in the case of the Four Kórales were primarily associated with the noble birth of the inhabitants, and, if we turn to the *Kadaim-pot*, this suspicion will be confirmed. There we find that there was a district in Ceylon known as the Kuru-rata, conterminous more or less with the region of the Four Kórales, and the inhabitants of the Kuru-rata in Ceylon were believed to have come from the Kuru-rata (Delhi district) in India.

According to the *Kadaim-pot* (see Bell, *Kegalla Report*, p 2) "in ancient times . . . there came to this island from the Kuru-rata a queen, a royal prince, a rich nobleman and a learned prime minister with their retinue, and by order of King Rama dwelt in that place, called on that account Kuru-rata. In the year of our great Lord Gautama Buddha, Gaja Báhu who came from Kuru-rata settled people in that district, calling it Paranakururata . . . ."

Paranakuru is one of the divisions of the Four Kórales, and, according to Dr. Pieris, Siyané Kórale was also in former times a division of the Four Kórales. It is, to say the least, a remarkable coincidence that the Royal family, the men of the Four Kórales, and the Kaurava Vanse, all of whom, and who alone, authentically used the *Ira-handa Kodiya*, should be reputed to be of Kshattriya descent.

Kuru-rata is the district in India whence the Kaurava Vanse claims its ultimate origin, and, if we turn to the list of Karáve chieftains who rescued the fort of Puttalam, the names of some are sufficiently indicative of their origin. Kuru-Kula-nattu—dhevarir is one chief; Vaccha-nattu-dhevarir is another. Now Vaccha was a town in N. India, called also Kausambi, the capital of Nemi-Sakkaram, King of Hastinapura, who transferred his capital to Vaccha. Vaccha-nattu-thevagay is still the name borne by certain Karáve families of Siyané Kórale, where some of the oldest Karáve families are resident.

If we turn to those flags where the sun and moon occur in conjunction with other emblems, in Mr. E. W. Perera's exhaustive monograph on flags, we find that the Sun and Moon figure on the banners of the kings Dutu-gemunu and Mahasena, on the flags of certain ancient temples of royal foundation, such as Kataragama, on the flags of certain *dissavanis* which were at one time ruled by members of the royal family, such as the Seven Kórales (ruled by the Prince Vidiye Bandára), and Uva, which in Portuguese times at any rate, was always a royal principality, the only Prince of Uva who was not a member of the reigning house being Antonio Barretto, or Kuruvita-Rála who was apparently of the Kaurava Vanse, De Queiroz describing him as a *pescador* or fisher.

The sun and moon seem therefore to have been the most jealously guarded emblems in ancient Ceylon, those privileged to use these emblems being privileged apparently on the ground of descent rather than merit.

## (2) The Pearl Umbrella.

From time immemorial the umbrella has been among Oriental peoples a symbol of dominion. What is probably the earliest representation of the Umbrella in Ceylon is described by Neville in the *Taprobanian* (Dec. 1885). He there describes a stone panel discovered by him among the ruins of a very ancient city, (which he ascribes to the primitive era of pile-dwellings), in the district of Puttalam. The panel in question represents a five-headed Nága seated beneath an umbrella, and two hands on either side holding a *chamara*.

Indian monarchs often styled themselves, "Brother of the Sun and Moon, and Lord of the Umbrella."

It is probable that in ancient times the umbrella was primarily thought of as a parasol rather a parapluie. The umbrella figures as an emblem of dominion on Assyrian reliefs and Egyptian wall-paintings. On a relief from Nineveh in the British Museum a conquering monarch sits under the parasol and receives the homage of the vanquished. On another the King sits under a parasol and directs a siege. An Etruscan sepulchre, discovered at Chiusi, depicts a lady witnessing the palaestic games, "seated beneath an umbrella, indicative of her rank and dignity." (Dennis. *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*).

The parasol (*skiadion*) often figures on Greek vases, generally in the hands of an attendant. It was used, as a token of respect, in religious processions at Athens, the daughters of the *metoics* (or resident aliens) having to hold parasols over the heads of the *Kanephoroi*, the Athenian maidens who carried the baskets of sacred bread. The use of the parasol has survived to this day in the ceremonial processions of the Catholic Church.

Ovid in the *Ars Amatoria*, advises the Roman gallant to be attentive with the parasol, and it is possible that Roman *clientes* flattered their patrons with the parasol, on their way to the Forum. Whoever has seen a village-litigant in Ceylon, leading a train of *clientes*, and deferentially holding the umbrella over the head of an outstation proctor on his way from office to Court-house, will guess that the Sinhalese custom must have had a Roman analogy.

The parasol figures on the paintings at Ajanta (200 B.C.) as an emblem of royalty. It is there represented as decked with streamers and garlands of flowers, from which doubtless were derived the garlands of pearls on the "pearl umbrella," as used in Ceylon. The parasol figures also on the carvings of the stupa of Bharut, on the panels of the East gateway at Sanchi, and on the ancient Buddhist carvings of Java.



An Indian inscription of the 12th century speaks of the king's "white parasol raised on high, like a matchless second moon, overspreading the whole world." During the reign of Rājādhirāja I Cholan (1018—1053 A.D.) the Pandians combining with the Sinhalese and the Cherans, tried to throw off the Cholan yoke, but were defeated. The victor's inscription (*S. Ind. Inscriptions*, III. 56) states that he "drove down to the river Mullaiyar Sundara Pandya of great and undying fame, who lost in the stress of battle his royal white parasol, his fly-whisk of white yak's hair, and his throne." In 1844 when the Amir Abd-el-Cader was worsted by the French arms in Algeria, the loss of his parasol was the token of his defeat.

The pearl umbrella has been one of the most conspicuous emblems of royalty in Ceylon. "The white umbrella of dominion, studded with jewels and fringed with pearls, was borne aloft on a silver pole surmounting the throne," (see the *Mahāvansa*, and E. W. Perera *Ancient Sinhalese Heraldry*.) In preparation for the arrival of the Relics, Mahinda tells Devānampiyatissa, "Go thou in the evening, mounted on thy state-elephant, bearing the white parasol" (*Mahāvansa*). Just before the enshrining of the Relics, Dutthagāmini is seen standing, "holding a golden casket under the white parasol" (*Mahāvansa*).

"The parasol was the emblem most directly associated in the popular mind with duly constituted authority and kingly rank . . . . To bring the country 'under one parasol,' signified consolidating the government under one sovereignty." (John M. Senaveratne: *Royalty in Ancient Ceylon*).

According to Ehelepola, the pearl umbrella was in his time an emblem of royalty. It is still used by members of the Kaurava Vanse on ceremonial occasions.

It is probable that the use of pearls on the royal umbrella became *de regueur* in Ceylon, following the Pandyan precedent. The lost city of *Korkai*, once the capital of the Pandyan kings, was the centre of the pearl fishery, and is spoken of as a noted pearl emporium by Ptolemy. The prestige of the Pandyan kings was based on pearls, as that of the Sinhalese kings was based on gems. The kings of Madura until comparatively recent times styled themselves "Chiefs of Korkai."

### (3) The Chamara.

The *chamara* or ceremonial fly-whisk is a royal symbol of great antiquity. A relief of Assur-bani-pal and his queen in the British Museum depicts attendants holding *chamara*. The ancient panel depicting a five-headed Naga discovered by Neville contains this emblem.

In India, the royal *chamara* were made of the white hair of the Tibetan *yak*, (see the Cholian inscription referred to above); and Barbosa (1514) describes the whisks used by the king of Ceylon as made of the "white hair of animals." Vimala Dharma I, offered a gilt-handled whisk as a royal emblem to Pinhao. A specimen of an ivory handled whisk may be seen among the ivory exhibits at the Colombo Museum. At the enshrining of the Relics, Samtusita is said to have held "the yak-tail whisk," (*Mahāvansa*).

The *chamara* appears in the hands of the "daughters of the gods" attending on the higher gods, at Sanchi. It appears also on the paintings at Ajanta. Here, in addition to its use as a whisk, three *chamaras* at the end of a spear, figure as a special symbol, among the paraphernalia of war. This usage appears to have survived in the Turkish army till the 18th century. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, in one of her letters describing the departure of a military expedition from Constantinople, speaks of the "pashas of three tails," and of these emblems being displayed in front of their tents as "ensigns of their power."

## (4) The Chank.

The chank or conch-shell was in its origin a martial emblem. As a religious symbol it was particularly associated with Vishnu, who is declared to have used it in war. Its use as a trumpet in war is constantly spoken of in the *Mahabharata*. Chanks as trumpets are depicted in a representation of a royal procession at Buddh-gaya on the occasion of Mahinda's mission with a branch of the bo-tree to Ceylon, carved on the East gateway at Sanchi. Father Barradas, a Jesuit missionary, mentions the use of chanks as trumpets at a Karáve wedding-procession at Moratuwa in 1613.

As an emblem of royalty, the chank figured on the royal shield, which was white, and bore this device, and was called the *sak paliha* (conch shield). "Not long after the king of the hill country raised a rebellion in the Hatara Korale, Dharma Prakrama Bahu (1505-1527) having heard of this, committed the army to his younger brother . . . and sent him to seize the hill country . . . The king of the hill country came to meet him, and in token of homage sent the pearl umbrella, the conch shield and chain of honour" (C.B.R.A.S. Journal xx, p. 187).

The chank was one of the emblems which adorned the canopy over the Ivory Throne at the Brazen Palace. It figures, with the sun and moon and the wheel of empire, on grants made by the Sinhalese Kings. It is mentioned as an emblem of royalty in Vimala Dharma's letter to Pinhao offering him a kingdom.

"Dom Joao of Candia to Simao Pinhao, King of the kingdoms below. . . . .

"Your honour will be king of the territories below, of which Raju was the lord. . . I for my part make this promise and there is no uncertainty as to my word . . . For your honour, a collar of Raju, two bracelets for each arm, all of precious stones, the honour of anklets for the feet, one pitcher and basin of gold, with a gilt palanquin; two white parasols, two white banners, a white shield, a chank, and chamara, all gilt." (Pieris, *Port. Era* I, 357).

## (5) and (6) The Sword and Trident.

"The man represented on the flag as seated on an elephant is probably the chief of the tribe . . The elephant has been associated with the caste on tombstones of the seventeenth century." (E. W. Perera *Sinhalese Banners and Standards*.)

The chief bears in his right hand a sword, and in his left hand a trident. These again were emblems of royalty.

Barbosa (1514) describing a progress of the Sinhalese King, says, "when the king goes out of his palace, all his gentlemen are summoned who are in waiting. And one Brahman carries a sword and shield, and another a long gold sword in his right hand, and in his left hand a weapon which is like a *fleur de lis* (i.e. a trident). And on each side go two men with two fans, very long and round, and two others with two fans made of white tails of animals which are like horses."

The trident appears also on coins and royal inscriptions.

## (7) The Torches.

The *dawalapandam* or daylight torches are still used by the Karáve people on ceremonial occasions. Barradas observes the custom ("candles lighted in the day-time"), at a Karáve wedding procession in 1613.

Barbosa speaks of the torches as part of the royal insignia, though he appears to have been under the impression that they were used only at night, having probably witnessed

a royal progress at night-time :—" And if the king goes by night, they carry four large chandeleers of iron, full of oil with many lighted wicks."

A specially interesting feature in the torches depicted on the Karáve flag is the fact that these are chandeleers with many lighted wicks, and each chandeleer carries five distinct lights. Neville (*Taprobanian*, April, 1887) makes some interesting observations on these torches with the five lights, which he saw used at a fire-passing ceremony in honour of Draupadi and the five Pandavas. The use of the caste-flag appears to have been an essential part of the ceremony, and at Chilaw, where the rite was practised in its purest form, Neville observed that the caste-flag was the *Makara* " representing the Varna-Kula."

This rite in honour of the five Pandavas was specially practised on the Coromandel Coast between Negapatam and Kurnool, (*Indian Antiquary* 1873), presumably by a people who had special traditional reasons for commemorating these heroes of the *Mahābhārata*. Contingents of Karáve soldiers reached Ceylon at different times from the Coromandel Coast, for instance, in the time of Parákrama Báhu VI., from Kanchipura, Kaveri-pattanam, and Kilikare, and there is little doubt that the ritual of the five Pandavas was introduced into Ceylon by them, the same clan-names, Varnakula, Kurukula, etc., occurring to this day among Karáve people in Ceylon, and on the Coromandel Coast, at Negapatam and elsewhere, (Thurston, "*Races of S. India*,")

With the custom of the five-wicked torch commemorating the five Pandavas, it seems pertinent to compare the Karáve custom, which was remarked by the Portuguese Jesuits at Chilaw in 1606, of having five *Patangatins* or chiefs to rule their communities (*Ceylon Antiquary*, July, 1916).

The torch (*sula*) occurs, often in conjunction with the fish, on a series of royal inscriptions in the Tissamaháráma district.

The use of the ceremonial torches was sometimes conceded by the king (e.g. on the Uggalboda *sannas* of the 15th century) to privileged individuals as a mark of high distinction.

#### (8) The Fans. (*Alawattam*)

The fan as an emblem of honour has a respectable antiquity. It occurs, with the whisk, on the relief of Assur-banipal and his queen referred to above. An Etruscan sarcophagus, now in a museum at Rome, holds a relief depicting a matron, with attendants on either side, one of whom holds a *hydria* on her head and a *cantharus* in her hand, another with a large fan, "exactly like the Indian fans of the present day," (Dennis. *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*).

This Etruscan use of the pitcher, beaker, and fan, calls to mind the offer of a pitcher and beaker of gold as royal emblems by a Sinhalese King, and the use of the pitcher and the fan among the emblems on the canopy over the Ivory Throne at the Brazen Palace.

A Gandhara relief, in the Lahore Museum, represents the Buddha attended by a *Vajrapani* holding a fan.

Barbosa's mention of the fans among the insignia of the king of Ceylon in 1514 has already been referred to. Pridham describes their use by the First Adigar at Kandy, the talipots, according to him being "large, triangular fans, ornamented with talc."

The use of the talipots and the lion flag were conceded by the king to a chief in the Uggalboda *sannas*, together with the use of the ceremonial torches.

## (9) The Shields.

The shields depicted on the Karáve flag are white, and each bears a device in the centre. The "white discs" used at the Karáve wedding at Moratuwa in 1613, were either shields (shields in ancient Ceylon being always circular), or they were affixed to a pole and borne as maces, as represented on the Ajanta paintings. Barrados' account of the wedding is as follows:—

"The wedded pair come walking on white cloths, with which the ground is successively carpeted, and are covered above with others of the same kind, which the nearest relatives hold in their extended hands after the fashion of a canopy. The symbols that they carry are white discs, and candles lighted in the day-time, and certain shells which they keep playing on in place of bag-pipes. All these are Royal Symbols which the former kings conceded to this race of people, that being strangers they should inhabit the coasts of Ceilao, and none but they or those to whom they give leave can use them."

Apparently the wedding described here was one of the poorer class of Karáve people, the white cloth held as a canopy taking the place of the pearl umbrella.

Barrados goes on to observe, "what causes wonder in this and in other people of this kind, is, that although so wretched, miserable, and poor, they have so many points of honour, that they would rather die than go contrary to it."

The royal shield appears to have resembled the Karáve shield: "The royal shield was white, with the device of a conch-shell." (E. W. Perera. *Sinhalese Banners and Standards*.)

De Barros speaks of the Crown Prince of Jaffna being conspicuous on a certain occasion by the white shield which he bore. (*C.B.R.A.S. Journal* Vol. XX.)

A Portuguese general had with him "as a badge of royalty" two Mudaliyars with white shields. (*C.B.R.A.S. Journal* XI. 574). The use of the white cloths, white canopy, and white shields at the Karáve wedding described above by Barrados is significant. "White was the royal colour. Its use was limited by sumptuary law to particular privileged individuals and classes." (E. W. Perera : *Ancient Sinhalese Heraldry*.)

## (10) The Snake.

The snake on the Karáve flag has every appearance of being a full-blooded Cobra. Mr. E. W. Perera, (*Sinhalese Banners and Standards*), describes the snakes as *diya-naya* or water-snake.

A snake and a fish were included among the twenty-one emblems of an Indian King (*Gazetteer of India*, Madura District.)

Some authorities omit the snake, and include *two river fishes* among the emblems of an Indian King. (See the *Dict. of European Mission*. Pondicherry.)

Mr. E. W. Perera has apparently, either from a slight confusion of ideas or a strong sense of economic justice, transferred the river-attribute of one of the fishes to the snake.

## (11) The Fish.

The fish was one of the emblems of royalty in India. Among the Hindus, the fish was regarded as a sacred animal. "One of the principal articles of the Hindu faith is that

relating to the ten *avatars* or incarnations of Vishnu. The first and earliest is called the *Matsya-avatar*, that is the incarnation of the god in the form of a fish" (Dubois : *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*.)

" *The Matsya-Purana* opens with an account of the *matsya* or fish . . . and deals with the creation, the royal dynasties, and the duties of the different orders," ( Dutt. *Civilization in Ancient India*.)

A people called the Matsyas figure prominently in the wars of the *Mahābhārata*, and the reigning family of Pandya claimed to be a branch of the *Matsya-vansa* ; hence the origin of fish as the special emblem of the Pandyan Kings.

The Dravidian word for fish is *Min*. The Pandyan Kings of Madura took the title of *Minavan* or " He of the Fish or Fisher " The Pandyan tutelary goddess was *Minakshi*, the fish-eyed goddess (cf. the Roman goddess of wisdom, *Minerva*, and the Etruscan *Minerva*), to whom a temple was built in Ceylon by Vijaya when he married a Pandyan princess. A coin of Dévánampiyatissa, found at Tissamahārāma, bears the fish, torch, and trident. The fish (often in conjunction with the torch) occurs as a royal emblem on a series of rock inscriptions in Ceylon. described and deciphered at length by Neville in the *Taprobanian*, and by Parker in *Ancient Ceylon*. On one of these inscriptions, discovered at Lower Bintenne, the fish appears to be particularly complete, being clearly drawn, according to Neville, with " pectoral and dorsal fin, tail, eye, and gill."

" The use of the royal arms," observes Neville, referring to the fish and torch emblems, " is unknown to me to occur anywhere except in grants of the paramount reigning princes." (*Taprobanian*. June 1886).

The famous Stone Lion, from Polonnaruwa, now in the Colombo Museum, which formed part of the Lion Throne at Polonnaruwa, bears an inscription stating that the throne was built for Nissanka Malla, Lankeswara or Overlord of Ceylon, and terminating with the figure of a fish, in token of paramount royalty.

#### (12) The Sun-Flowers.

" The sun-flower was the badge of the royal house." (E. W. Perera. *Ancient Sinhalese Heraldry*) The royal line belonged to the *Suriyavansa* " that royal race of the caste of the sun . . . none could inherit the empire of Ceilao except those that came directly from that caste. Of this caste came directly the princes whom the king of Cotta married to his daughter, though he was poor and without a heritance " (De Couto).

*Surya* (sun) occurs so frequently as a suffix in family-names. nearly exclusively the family-names of members of the Kaurava Vanse, that this suffix is at the present day practically an indication of caste. Karāve family-names ending in *Suriya* range over the alphabet from *Abesuriya* to *Wickramasuriya*.

#### (13) The Sprigs.

The significance of the leafed sprig on the Karāve flag is a matter for conjecture. I suggest that the sprig stands for the wreath of margosa which Pandyan warriors wore round their heads when they went to war (*Gazetteer of India*: Madura District) or, more probably, the allusion is to the tradition preserved in the *Janawansa*, that Karāve soldiers accompanied Mahinda and Sanghamitta on their mission to Ceylon with a branch of the bo-tree at Buddh-gaya.

## (14) The Lotus.

The emblems on the flag appear on a ground *semé* with the lotus. "The lotus was the badge of the nation." (E. W. Perera: *Ancient Sinhalese Heraldry*). The lotus is without doubt the most frequent motif in Eastern decorative art. It appears unceasingly in the art of Egypt, Assyria, and India, and was adopted also by the decorative artists of Etruria and Greece. In Egyptian art it was associated with the idea of immortality, in the Buddhist art of India with the idea of miraculous birth. It has been so highly and so variously charged with significance, and so frequently used, that in time it degenerated into cant, became devoid of symbolic meaning altogether, and is employed most often purely for decorative effect.

\* \* \* \* \*

Here remains to be considered the collective significance of the insignia of the Kaurava Vanse in the light of the history of this people in India and in Ceylon. One of the oldest traditions is recorded in a version of the *Janavansa* (see the *Taprobanian* : April 1886).

"After time had thus passed in the 207th year after our Buddha had gone to Nirwana, at the time when Devanipiyatissa Narendraya was reigning over Lakdiva, Dharmasoka Narapati of Dambadiva sending to Sri Lankaduipa together with the victorious Maha Bodin and the prince and princess Mahinda and Sanghamitta, archers employed in bow-craft and people accustomed to fight with swords, javelins, pikes, shields and the like, who said, 'the pearl umbrellas, white canopies and chamara are our services—while the princes our kin are going it is not proper for us to stay'—forty-nine in number these also came for the Bo Mandala business . . . Thus because princes who attained the kingship from time to time belonged to this race and attained it, Bhuwanekha Bahu on account of the dangers that arose from foreign enemies, bringing to this Lakdiva from the city Kanchipura, ninety-five of them in number, showed them royal kindness and established them there. From that time, keeping everything that was needed, appointing the five doers of service, he protected them."

This statement in the *Janavansa* explains quite coherently the possession and use of the royal emblems by the Kaurava Vanse, confirmed as that statement is by the assertion of Barrados in 1613 that these were royal symbols "which the former kings conceded to this race of people, that, being strangers, they should inhabit the coast of Ceilao." Pridham represents the "five doers of service" as attached to the Kaurava Vanse, confirming the ancient tradition in this particular.

The *Janavansa* statement that "princes who attained the kingship from time to time belonged to this race and attained it," implies that the Karáve people are Kshatriyas, and the concession of the royal symbols by the former kings, spoken of by Barrados, implies, in my opinion, not so much a bestowal of the symbols, as permission, in view of the strict local sumptuary laws, to use in Ceylon symbols to which Karáve warriors were already entitled, identical emblems being used by kindred people in India.

I have already stated my reasons for believing that the use of the sun and moon emblems was the privilege of descent rather than the reward of merit. Neville speaks of the *Makara* as the special emblem of the Varnakula which, like the Kurukula, is merely a clan of the Kaurava Vansa, in India as in Ceylon. The probability therefore is that the *Makara* flag, too, which tradition asserts was bestowed with the sun and moon flag by the king on the tribe, was really brought over by the clan to whom it belonged.

Members of the Varnakula, and the Kurukula (a *Varnakula-thungen* and a *Kurukula-Naik*) appear to have occupied the throne of Madura as late as the 12th century A. D. (Taylor,

*Indian Hist. Mss.* I, 201). It would seem that as late as the 17th century Karave chieftains ruled semi-independent principalities in South India (see Hunter "*History of Indian Peoples*," for the independence of the S. Indian chiefs or nayiks of the 16th century); and some of the Karave chiefs in South India were powerful enough even in the 17th century for the kings of Ceylon to value their assistance in war.

In 1618 when the "pugnacious Carias" (Pieris: *Port: Era*) of Ceylon were harassing Chankili, King of Jaffna, the king applied for assistance to the Naique of Tanjore, who sent to his assistance one of the pugnacious Carias of India, Varna Kulatta (i.e. Varnakula Aditta), "the chief of the Carias, the most warlike race in the Naique's dominions" (De Queiroz). Two years later the same chief reappeared off the coast of Jaffna, again in a pugnacious mood, Faria Y. Sousa referring to him as the "Chem Naique, that king of the Carias who had previously come to Chankili's assistance."

In 1656 while another Varnakula Aditta, Manoel d'Anderado, one of the pugnacious Carias of Ceylon, (whose full name was Varnakula Addita Arsa Nilaitte—a name borne also by the Rowels, the Lowes, and the Tamels, Karave families of Chilaw), was guarding the pass at Kalutara with his lascoreens, for the Dutch against the King's troops, the King Rájasinha, on his side made overtures for assistance to one of the pugnacious Carias of India—the Patangatin of Coquielle (Baldaeus). Two years later, the same Manuel D'Anderado "signalized himself before Jaffnapatam" (Baldaeus). These incidents of the 17th century symbolize in epitome the history of the Karave people in previous centuries, from the legendary days of the despatch by a Cholian King of an expedition "under a Kurukula captain" to obtain snake-gems from Ceylon for Kanakai, the bride of Kovalan, to the most recent times. From the 6th to the 8th century, when, according to the historian Dharma Kirtti, Ceylon was in the throes of civil war, three rival houses contending for the throne, each importing numbers of soldiers from S. India, Kurukula and Varnakula captains and men must have been in great demand.

By the end of the 8th century, Ceylon was full of these "Demillos" demanding the highest offices in the state, and apparently getting them, the Sinhalese being too weak to resist. In the 12th century it was a chief named Aditta, (Bell: *Kegalla Report*, p. 74), a Tamil Commander of high rank in the army, who led a great naval expedition to Burmah, when the coast of Ceylon "was like one great workshop, busied with the constant building of ships." There can be little doubt that it was Karave men who manned this expedition, the Sinhalese, though an island race, being strangely averse to sea-faring.

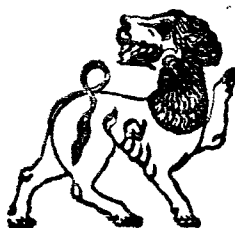
Two centuries later an expedition led by Karave chieftains from the Coromandel coast rescued the fort of Puttalam for the Sinhalese King. Two centuries later, on the Sinhalese King's conversion to Christianity, he appears to have relied on Karave soldiers for the security of his throne. The *pescadores* or "fishermen" are very prominent in the stirring times of the Portuguese, fighting on one side or the other, or on both by turns. One *pescador* by his "skill in war" on the royal side rose to be Prince of Uva and a regent of the kingdom. (See Baldaeus for the text of the royal patent of 1613 appointing Kuruvita-rála, Prince of Uva, a Regent, the King on his death-bed ordering all the estates of the realm to take the oath of allegiance to the two Regents till the Crown Prince came of age and "to show them the same respect as to our own person.")

A number of Karave *gé* names which have come down from these times indicate their owners' military occupation at this period, such as *Totahéwage*, *Guardiahéwage*, *Guardiawasan*, *Marakkalahéwage*, *Héwákodikárage*, etc.

In Dutch times, the Karáve people stubbornly remaining Catholic, were not in favour, and their honours and privileges were curtailed. But Dutch governors still instructed their lieutenants that "the Carias . . . being the most courageous, are to be employed for all purposes of war," and some descendants of the earlier chieftains, such as the Anderados, the Fonsekas, and the Rowels, continued to remain in power and prominence.

In British times there has been no fighting in Ceylon, but the Karáve people continues to give evidence of possessing what Hunter describes as "the inexhaustible vitality of the military races of India."

It will be noticed that most of the Portuguese writers (De Queiroz, Barrados, etc.) and some Sinhalese writers, speak of the Karáve people as a race. And it will be evident that the Kaurava Vanse, strictly speaking, is not so much a caste as a tribe, consisting, as we have seen, of a number of clans. Dr. Paul Pieris has drawn attention to one of the tribal characteristics of the Karáve people—its tendency, even at the present day, "to act as a corporate whole." My view of the Karáve flag is that it is a tribal flag, its royal emblems indicating the Kshatriya origin of the tribe. But if, as Mr. E. W. Perera seems to suggest, the flag is indicative of occupation on a caste basis, the only occupation indicated by the emblems on this flag is the occupation of the Kshatriyas or Warriors.





## NORTHERN PROVINCE NOTES.

### POPULAR CULTS OF THE JAFFNA DISTRICT.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired.)

THE favourite god is Ganesa, generally known as Piḷḷaiyār, also called Vikinasparam, eldest son of Siva. He is beneficent and is invoked in every act of worship. He has temples in many places.

Next comes his brother Kantasāmi Katragama or Subramaniyan, the god of War, with his two wives, Vallinayaki and Tévanayaki. In temples dedicated to Siva, the wife of Siva, Parupati, and their children are also provided with shrines, the chief being assigned to Piḷḷaiyar and Kantasāmi. Their rude brothers, Vairavar, Virupattiran and Aiyandar with their respective wives often have more humble shrines, but not in all temples of Siva. One name for Vairavar is *Chadai Ándi*, "the Hairy Beggar." He is also called *Áti* "Beginning."

Chetty caste people worship Kaṇṇakai the wife of Kovalan. She was deified for her virtue and miraculous powers. There is a well-known shrine of hers, which attracts many pilgrims at the time of her festival,<sup>1</sup> near Mullaivivu. In the Jaffna District she has temples at Tanakkára Kurichchi, Mukamálai (3.) and Pulopala.

There are temples of Vishnu at only four places in the Jaffna District, viz., at Punnalai, Malvil (in Pachchilapalli near Iyakachchi), Vannarponnai and Vallipuram. He is known as Perumal or Kristna. His wife Lechmi is also worshipped at these temples.

The god of the Dhoby caste is Periya Tampiran or Aiyandar. He has temples at Tanakkára Kurichchi, Katkavalan and Palávattai.

The Mukkuvár people have a village near Elephant Pass called Kurnichátivu. They like the Dhobies have Aiyandar for their patron.

The Koviýár caste people worship Katta Várayár; who is perhaps the same as Muttu-Várayár who has a temple at Palávattai: the Pallar, Annamár (Annakar), who were eunuchs in charge of Vanni provinces.

The Pariahs have in special veneration as their tutelary deities these same Vanni princesses (Nachchimár) who have temples at Taḍḍuvan Koddi and at Tanakkára Kurichchi.

The Nachchimar were virgins of the Vanni, seven of whom committed suicide so as not to fall into the enemy's hands. There is a tank near Oḍḍusuḍḍán in the Mullaivivu District the name of which is connected with this story. Their guards, the Annakar or Annamar, who were probably eunuchs, committed suicide with them and have also been deified. But why the Paraiyar should have appropriated the princesses and the Pallar their servants I do not know.

Then there is the goddess Amman or Mári Amman who has a temple at Aráli known as "Mátavin Kovil," "Temple of the Mother." The celebrated Vanni place of pilgrimage, Madu, is known to Hindus as sacred to the same goddess. The resemblance of the name "Mari"

1. There is an account of this festival in *Folklore* Vol. VI. in an article called "Folklore from North Ceylon" contributed by the present writer.

(Amman) to that of the B. V. Mary is extraordinary. The Cathedral at Jaffna is also known as "Mítavin Kovil." There is a Mari Amman temple at Vanni Vilankulam. Tunilimadam possesses a temple of Amman.

I suppose she is the same deity that in her more sinister manifestation is worshipped as Káli. In the Madras Presidency Mari Amman is the goddess of small-pox. There is a temple at Tonḍaimaṅṅaru dedicated to Pattirakáli, i.e. "Guardian Káli," and another with the same title at Palavattai. At the former place too is another Káli temple, that of Viramá Káli, which is said to have been built by a Jaffna King, Para Rasasekara. And at Tunnalai South Káli is designated "Mutaliyaval."

The goddess of midwives is Pechchi Amman (Pechchi = petti). She is probably a deified grandmother. She has the care of women in child-birth and of newly-born infants. She has, I believe, a temple or shrine somewhere in the Peninsula. In Madras a goddess called Peddamma, "the Great Mother," is worshipped.

In addition to the goddess Pechchi Amman who has to be invoked, there is an unclean spirit, Kóli, who has to be propitiated on the fifth day after a confinement, but she has no shrine.

There are two or three temples of Hanuman (Anuman), the monkey god, who also has his quarters in all Vishnu (Kidnan) temples, of which he is the guardian as Vairavar is of temples of Siva. People are supposed to be possessed by him, and devils are exorcised with his help.

There is a temple on the island of Nayinativu which is commonly spoken of as the Snake temple, but the principal deity worshipped there is not a snake god, but a goddess, snakes holding a secondary place in the worship. Náka Tampiran is a manifestation of Siva's wife. One of Siva's ornaments, as also one of his wife's ornaments, is the cobra, but the five-headed cobra is not the vehicle of either, but of Vishnu.

While on the subject of the vehicles appropriated to the different deities, it may be stated that the vehicle of Siva is a horse or bull, that of Káli the lion or cow (Karampasi) and that of Kantasámi the peacock or *Kadumba* (a demon).

There are Náka Tampiraṅ temples also at Kopai North and Náváli.

There are a few trees and groves which Perumpatai, "The Great Army," and Muni, the hermit, are supposed to haunt. Shrines of the former are to be found at Tunilamadam and Kurinchátivu, both villages near Elephant-Pass. There is a Muni shrine on the Jaffna fort glacis, and the hermit is supposed to haunt the shades of the big banyan tree in the Fort. He has another shrine on the Nantavil road, and at Chávakachcheri he shares a grove with Birumar. The Fort glacis shrine owes its origin to men of the native regiments of Ceylon.

At Kondavil there is a "Mutaliyár" temple belonging to the carpenter caste. Here the *vél* or javelin of Kantasámi is the object of worship. How the name originated is a matter of conjecture. Possibly a Mudaliyar, as large as life but no larger, built the temple.

There is a temple, or rather a tree, at Veḍḍukáḍu dedicated to Manamperiyár, "the Great-minded" or "the Magnanimous." There is no image of this personage or abstraction, only the tree is worshipped.

No doubt there is some deification of persons going on. At Valavedditurai there is a temple dedicated to Kappal Uḍaiyavar, "The Owner of Vessels," who would certainly be revered in a place like this where there are many dhonies built and maintained for trade with the coast.

At Tunnalai South is a temple dedicated to Pútu Ráyar, which means a deified giant or King of giants. The word "*pútum*" curiously enough, also means a dwarf. There is another temple with this dedication at Jaffna, north of Nallur temple.

The village of Taḍḍuvankoddi has a variety of shrines, viz of :

Viraputtiran

Vairavar

Karipuliyan (Kari means (1) an elephant (2) charcoal)

Nachchimár

Viraman

Piḷḷaiyár

Sadai ((or Chadai) Vairavar (*Sadai* means "long-haired."))

Pilgrimages are enjoined by the *Puranas* and the sacred places of Kilali in the Jaffna District, Madu in the Vanni (or rather in the Mannar District) and St. Anna's in the Puttalam District attract crowds of Hindu as well as of Christian pilgrims.

There is a sacred bathing place of the Hindus at Kírimalai near Kankesanturai. It is considered sacred by them because it is a *Sankámam* or place of meeting. For along the shore are fresh-water springs and because here the water mingles with the salt-water of the sea, the meeting of the waters serves as an emblem of the Siva and the Sabti principals of God. The water too has a medicinal value.

A bath in it is deemed meritorious, especially at particular times of the year. The New Moon Day of the month of *Adi* (July-August) is one. It is in *Adi* that the sun starts on his southern course (*tadchináyagam*.) It is on this account that the people worship the sun immediately after they have bathed. This New Moon Day is besides the last day of the festival carried on at Máviḍḍapuram temple, and the god of this temple is therefore taken on this day to Kirimalai to bathe. The distance is about two miles.

Kirimalai has a tradition of its own. It was the hermitage of a sage named Naguli Muni, the "Mongoose Sage." There was a very ancient shrine at this spot dedicated to Siva, which is referred to in ancient Sanskrit classics. It was demolished by the Portuguese. The present temple was built about 40 years ago.

The Máviḍḍapuram temple shared the same fate, but was rebuilt much longer ago. The Pándiyan princess with the horse's head was cured through bathing at Kirimalai.

The images at the temple of Kandasami at Máviḍḍapuram were brought from India and landed at Káncesenturai. Hence the name of the place. Kángesan = Subramanaya = Kantasámi.

The direct road connecting Máviḍḍapuram and Kirimalai was opened by Mr. P. A. Dyke, the Government Agent, as a result of his personally witnessing the inconvenience to which the people were put from having to walk from one place to the other.

Mention has been made of Hindu hermits. There are also Muhammedan as well as Christian and Buddhist. There is or was a Muhammedan hermit living at Kutiraimalai—the promontory so much in evidence at the Pearl Fisheries held at Marichchukadḍi. He has a mosque on the coast, visible from the sea and decorated with flags. He wanders about Musali and the Vanni. There are also Muhammedan pilgrims or fakirs. I came across one in the Central Province in 1909 who was on his way to Nagur in India. He was carrying two horned coconuts on which were strung silver figures representing hares and other objects—votive offerings to be presented there. This however is rather a digression as this paper is concerned with the cults of Jaffna and the Hindus.

It may be a subject of remark, too, that I have said nothing about the greater temples of Jaffna and the Peninsula dedicated to Siva and the principal gods. These were in fact so obvious and everyday at the time I made these slight notes that I made none about them.

**Pearl Diving.** When I was Superintendent of the Pearl Fishery of 1904 I had some divers timed while under water, with the following results.—

The longest time under water was 85 seconds.

The next        „        „        „        „        75        „

The third       „        „        „        „        36        „

The first man brought up 43 oysters during one dive. He was an Arab; the last a Tuticorin man.

**Searching for Pearls.** While engaged in this occupation squatting on the bulwark (if one may use the term) or edge of a *ballam* filled with rotten oysters in sea-water, none of the men is allowed to take his hands out of the mass for fear he should swallow a pearl. Lest a pearl should be stolen no one either is allowed to talk while opening oysters.

**The Chundi Muttu.** This is the mythical pearl of great price that everyone hopes to find,—the “Cock and Hen Pearl.” To ascertain its value (when found) it must be flicked off the finger and thumb like a marble, but vertically instead of horizontally. A pyramid of *pagodas* piled to the height the pearl goes will give the value. (This is what I was told by a Sinhalese man at one of the Pearl Fisheries. It is of course of the genus of those some allegorical sayings which tell one to do something that is impossible if you want to obtain the impossible.)

**Threshing in Punaryn.** This was done on one occasion when I watched the operation by six buffaloes tied together round a stake, with the largest, oldest and most experienced animal next to the stake and the younger ones outside. A boy was driving them round and round it and he kept shouting to them what sounded to me like “*vali*” “*vali*,” but which really I suppose was “*poli*,” “*poli*.”

“*Poli*” is a word used in connection with the threshing of paddy, by both Tamils and Sinhalese, I believe.

It is not correct, as stated sometimes in books or elsewhere, that buffaloes or cattle refrain from micturating while engaged in this work. They have been given too much credit for delicacy of feeling in this respect. As buffaloes cannot work in a hot sun, threshing is done on moon-light nights.

**The Well of Puttur (Folklore)**—If a stick is thrown into the well at Puttur, it will sink and come out eventually at Kirimalai.

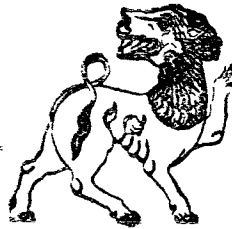
**New Rice in the Vanni.** In the Vanni when the new rice is first eaten, mango leaves are tied to the roof of the *mal* or *madam*.

**Palmyra Trees.**—These, like the *Rambuttan*, are “male” and “female.” There is a belief in Jaffna that male Palmyra trees sometimes become female. Is there any possibility of this from a scientific point of view?

**Fashions in Hair.**—The men of Jaffna and the Vanni before marriage wear their hair in a knot on one side of the top of the head, and the rest of the head is not shaved. After marriage, the knot is worn on to the top of the head inclining to the back—what I have heard described as “the backside of the head,”—and the rest of the head is shaved.

**Custom at Cremation.**—One of the customs at a cremation in Jaffna is the carrying round the pyre, by a near relative of the deceased, of a pot filled with water. It is carried, round three times and at the end (or perhaps the beginning) of each circuit a hole is knocked in the pot. When the last has been made, the officiant lets the pot fall off his shoulder behind him and walks away home without looking back. (This is the ceremony as seen by myself.)

There is a custom something similar to this observed "near the Macedonian front" viz, "the breaking of a pitcher on the threshold when the funeral leaves the house." (*Daily Mail* of 27 May, 1920.)



## PARÁKRAMA BÁHU THE GREAT.

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### THE SPYING OUT THE CONDITION OF THE UPPER PROVINCES.

BY HARRY STOREY.

**T**HE second part of the *Mahāvansa* contains altogether 377 pages recording the reigns of 110 Kings and, of this total number of pages, no less than 147 are devoted to the history of Parákrama Báhu. No other King, either in the first part or the second part, has more than a fraction of that space devoted to his reign.

A note-worthy point in Parákrama Báhu's record is the amazing amount of detail devoted to the various wars and battles. In particular his second invasion of S. India is given in such minute detail that I am inclined to think the recording was, in the main, done by a layman and not by a priest.

I do not, however, propose to deal with the whole of Parákrama Báhu's history ; my object being, principally, to comment on his remarkable series of journeys, when he was spying out the land with a view to eventually bringing the Island "under one canopy of dominion" which was his fixed ambition.

At the time of Parákrama Báhu's birth the country was in a very unsatisfactory condition. On the death of Vijaya Báhu, who had reigned for 55 years, his sister Mittá, her three sons and her ministers, combined to keep the news from the late King's eldest son Vikrama Báhu, who was, at that time, governor of the Rohana. Moreover, they placed Vijaya Báhu's younger brother, Jaya Báhu, on the throne—a man apparently of no account through whom they intended to rule the country.

Vikrama Báhu, however, in spite of combined efforts on the part of his cousins to prevent him, fought his way through, from his capital in the Southern Province, to Polonnaruwa where he carried out the obsequies over his father's grave and then took possession of the "King's Country" which consisted, approximately, of the Northern Province, and North-Central Province.

His three cousins promptly divided the rest of the country amongst themselves—Kitti Siri Megha getting the "country of twelve thousand villages" (Giruwa Pattu) and probably Rohana as well; Siri Vallabha got "Atthasahassa," which may be Atakalan and Kolonna Kóralés; whilst Mánabharana, the eldest brother, took unto himself the "Southern District." This is not the southern part of Ceylon as assumed by the translator of the *Mahāvansa*, but, as pointed out to me by Mr. H. W. Codrington, refers to the districts south of the "King's Country" and may be identified as approximately, the North-Western Province, part of the Central Province (if not all of it), the whole of the Sabaragamuwa Province, and the Western Province.

The three brothers made another attempt to destroy Vikrama Báhu, but he defeated them and also defeated an invasion from South India. After this the three brothers and their cousin Vikrama Báhu lived peacefully for some years, each governing his own territory to suit himself—a condition that was anything but good for the country as a whole. None of these three brothers had a son at this time and the ex-king Jaya Báhu and his queen had both died.

Eventually, however, heralded by wonderful dreams and omens, a son was born to Máná-bharana's queen Ratanávali "at a lucky hour when the stars were favourable" and the birth was followed by many marvellous manifestations. The child was named Parákrama Báhu, which signified "that he would have an arm endued with strength to humble his enemies."

There seems little doubt, that, in consequence of the marvels and omens at the time of his birth, news of which would fly through the whole island, Parákrama Báhu was always regarded with a certain amount of superstitious awe by everybody. His father's cousin, Vikrama Báhu, even offered to adopt him and bring him up as his heir and successor to his kingdom, but Máná-bharana declined with thanks.

A few years later Máná-bharana died and his two brothers, Kitti Sirimegha and Siri Vallabha, "made haste each from his own country and caused the funeral rite to be performed." After this Kitti took possession of Máná-bharana's country and made over his own previous charge to Siri Vallabha in addition to what the latter already possessed. Kitti did not take up his residence at Máná-bharana's capital but at a village known as Sánkhatthali, which was probably 10-15 miles S., or S. E., or S. W. of Kurunégala.

The birth place of Parákrama Báhu is somewhat obscure. It is merely mentioned as the village "Punkhagáma" and there is no means of identifying it beyond the fact that, later, when he was in possession of his late father's kingdom, Parákrama Báhu built a large dagoba on the site thereof. There is also a statement "that the fields (in that part of the country) might yield increased harvests," Parákrama Báhu repaired the tanks "Mahágallaka" and "Tálagalla" and made anicuts in rivers issuing from the mountains such as the Deduru Oya and tributaries.

This makes it probable that Punkhagáma lay in a district N.E., N., or N.W. of Kurunégala.

On the death of his father Parákrama Báhu was sent, with his mother and sisters, to live with his uncle Siri Vallabha in the Southern Province and was brought up with great care. Vikrama Báhu eventually died after having held the "King's country" (though never anointed as king of Ceylon) for 21 years and his son Gaja Báhu succeeded him. Kitti Sirimegha and Siri Vallabha, however, at once started to invade that part of the country, but Gaja Báhu attacked each in turn before they could unite and defeated them both "and after that time the three kings lived, each in his own country, in friendship with each other."

By this time Parákrama Báhu had become a young man of ideas and strong character. He decided that he would visit the country in which he was born, so set forth with (probably) a suitable retinue and journeyed to "Sankhatthali" where he was received with open arms by his uncle Kitti Sirimegha and treated like a son. He seems to have lived with this uncle for some considerable time, but the *Mahāvamsa* distinctly states "that he valued not even as much as grass the great loving kindness shown to him by his father" (uncle) as his mind was firmly set on getting eventual possession of the whole island.

To this end he finally left his uncle's house secretly, by night, having previously sent off his own friends and followers to meet him at a certain place known as "Piliṇvatthu," not far from the village known as "Badalatthali"—this latter place being almost certainly identifiable as the modern "Batalagoda," a few miles N. E. of Kurunégala.

On arrival he found that only a few of his adherents had come, and was very wroth; but those who had assembled lectured him seriously and pointed out that he might not fear death or punishment but other people did; that he had no wealth or property wherewith to help on his enterprise but that even then they few had stuck to him, having faith in him in spite of what his uncle might mete out to him and them in the future, but their hearts "were sore troubled, distrusting each other greatly."

Parákrama Báhu took it in good part and cheered them up, telling them he was going to do a deed that very day that would make men fear him. He then proceeded to the village Badalatthal where he made an early-morning call on Sankha, the officer in charge of the northern frontier forces of that district.

Judging by the events connected with this visit, there is little doubt as to the "deed" Parákrama Báhu intended to do. He must have told his followers that Sankha would prevent their further progress when he found they had no permit from the king, and Parákrama Báhu must have warned them to be ready to act on a sign from himself. We read that the general received him with every mark of respect and, when making his obeisance, Parákrama Báhu's followers looked at their master to know if now was the time to kill the man, but Parákrama restrained them by a sign.

The general then entertained the prince alone in his house whilst he sent messengers to the king informing him of what had happened. This proceeding, becoming known to Parákrama Báhu, gave him the very pretext he was seeking, so he at once caused his followers to murder the unfortunate general. A bit of a tumult followed in which a soldier of the general's was slain, but Parákrama Báhu managed to quell all trouble and then proceeded to loot the general's property most thoroughly. In order to see what his uncle would do he stayed on some days at that place, but the old king did nothing, evidently thinking the prince would return and sue for forgiveness.

Parákrama Báhu in the meantime had so worked on the people, that, remembering his birth and the fact that the principality was originally his father's, they volunteered to march on his uncle's capital and place Parákrama Báhu on the throne, but he restrained them.

A few days later he set out on his travels again in order to go to the "village Buddhagáma which is near the rock Siridevi." On his way the villagers of "Siriyaála" attempted to capture him but he beat them off.

The identification of Buddhagáma is a matter of some interest. There is a group of ruins in Matale district some 3 miles N. W. of Lenadora village (on the north road) known as "Menik-dena-Nuwara," and in these ruins Mr. H.C.P. Bell had found an inscription referring to the grant of some land to the "Buddhagama viháre," which Mr. Bell conjectured might be the ancient name of this monastery.

There remained, however, "the rock Siridevi" to account for, but Mr. H. W. Codrington discovered that Major Forbes in his "*Eleven years in Ceylon*," when visiting the above-mentioned ruins, states that the mountain above the ruins was formerly known as "Heeree-dewatakande," which most effectually identifies the rock Siridevi and Menik-dena-nuwara as "Buddhagáma." Parákrama Báhu remained there for some days although the people round about made another ineffectual attempt to capture him.



Whilst at Buddhagāma he sent word to one Gokaṇṇa Nagaragiri, one of King Gaja Báhu's generals who dwelt at Kalawewa in charge of the frontier, to come and see him. The general obeyed, not knowing quite what to make of things, and was kindly received and given many presents (out of the unfortunate Sankha's loot !); but he was evidently very uneasy, knowing what had happened to Saṅkha, so, in the night, he arose and fled, as did all his followers.

By this time old Kittī Sirimegha had become alive to the seriousness of the situation; so he sent forth detachments with orders to capture the prince at all costs—altogether ten detachments set out each in charge of an officer. Parākrama Báhu, finding Buddhagāma not a very easy place in which to defend himself, moved down to "Saraggāma in the district of Mahātīla," which I have little hesitation in identifying as "Selegama" in Matale North, and the various parties sent in pursuit of him combined together and proceeded to attack him there.

This was exactly what Parākrama Báhu had intended as the attackers could only approach him by what may be now called the "Yattewatte Pass" and there he ambuscaded and utterly defeated them. He then departed from there and went to Bodhigāma, which Mr. Codrington has identified, and, I think, rightly as a village of the same name close to the modern Rattota in Matale East. He remained there a few days though again ineffectually attacked by his uncle's forces.

From there he proceeded to "the village Ranambura in the country of Laṅkāpabbata," which Mr. Codrington identifies as the present village of Ranamure in Laggala district. The prince stayed there several days to rest his men though he himself "wearied not."

By this time his uncle's men had got tired of chasing him though evidently afraid to return and report failure, so Parākrama Báhu decided to attack in his turn. He got news that the enemy were near a village known as "Khiravāpi" in the "Ambavana" district, which is almost certainly Ambane district on the Ambanganga, N. E. of Matale; so he made a forced march to the place and surprised them by a night attack, thoroughly routing them with considerable slaughter.

He then proceeded to "Nāvāgiri" where he rested. The identification of this place is uncertain but I am of opinion, that, at most of his stopping places, Parākrama Báhu put up at the local viháre in order not to inconvenience the villagers whom it would be his policy to conciliate. In this way he lodged at Buddhagama viháre, and, no doubt, did the same at Selegama and Bodhigama, whilst there are certainly the ruins of a viháre at Ranamure. That being so I am strongly inclined to identify "Nāvāgiri" as the present ruins of a considerable monastery now known as "Nuwaragala kanda," about 12 miles south of Sigiri and clearly on his line of march towards Polonnaruwa, his next objective. At Nāvāgiri a final but fruitless attempt was made to capture him by his uncle's forces, which, however, very nearly succeeded by reason of the cowardice of his own followers.

After this he entered a district known as "Janapada" in his cousin Gaja Báhu's Kingdom. This must have been a district some miles south of Minneriya tank, but there are no means of identification now.

By this time Gaja Báhu had heard of his approach and was greatly troubled, but, after consulting with his ministers, he sent presents to Parākrama Báhu and an invitation to visit him (Gaja Báhu) at Polonnaruwa. Parākrama accepted the invitation and the king went forth personally to meet him with great respect—even accommodating him on his own elephant, and entertaining him at his palace.

They became very friendly which the utterly unscrupulous and ungrateful Parákrama Báhu repaid by "spying out the land" most thoroughly in regular "Hun" fashion, and doing his best to find out who were friendly to the king and who were not. He made himself very friendly and affable to all, performing various acts of skill and courage during his stay, with the result that he became so popular as to excite the king's jealousy.

Becoming aware of this Parákrama Báhu decided that it was time for him to go as he considered it would not be good policy to seize that part of the kingdom then, though he had no doubt he could do it with very little trouble. He took formal leave of the king one evening saying smilingly:

"It is needful that I should go to the sub-king's country and see my father and come back hither: I must depart also this very day and that forthwith."

The king did not see the hidden meaning of the "come back hither," but, merely thinking Parákrama Báhu meant that he was returning home, bade him a pleasant farewell. Even then Parákrama Báhu did not leave openly but strolled, apparently aimlessly, through the city until night had well set in and then departed finally by moonlight. After going a few miles he rested by the tank "Khajjúraka Vaddhamána" to see if anyone had been sent in pursuit.

I think I have been able to identify this tank. In chapter LXXIX. V. 57 Parákrama Báhu is stated to have caused a channel to be cut from Giritella tank to the above tank, and a modern irrigation map shows that a channel existed from Giritella to an abandoned tank some 3 miles west of Topáwewa (Polonnaruwa) known as Maradankadawela. This seems to me a perfectly satisfactory identification as we know the king's palace lay practically at the south end of the city, so that Parákrama Báhu, in strolling through the city, must have travelled north until clear of Topáwewa and would then strike westward on his journey.

By this time he had evidently picked up some of his followers, for they are mentioned as doing a bit of a bolt soon after this when they met a bear which Parákrama Báhu slew with his sword. They then "crossed Silákhanda," which may well be the range of hills running due north from the Matale foothills to Kanthalay known now as Sudukande or Kónduruwáwe hills.

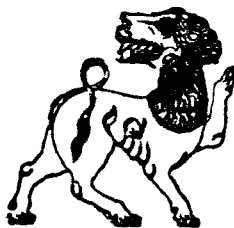
From there they passed through a village (unidentified) named Opanámika, finally reaching "Mangalaba" where the bulk of Parákrama Báhu's followers had evidently assembled to meet him. "Mangalaba" would be worth finding as it figures largely in the later fighting. Mr. Codrington modernizes the name as "Makuleba" and told me a Minneriya man informed him that a place so named existed between Kónduruwáwe (on the Yodi Ela south of Minneriya 10-12 miles) and a former hamlet known as Puwakgaha-ulpota some 15 miles further south.

Being at Polonnaruwa lately, and in the neighbourhood of Kotawela (about 8 miles S. of Polonnaruwa, on the Ambanganga), I enquired about Makuleba from the old arachchi. He recognized the name at once but said that the place was all gone to jungle and would be almost impossible to find. However, we know now its position to within a very few miles as it must have been on or near the Yodi Ela (Elahera channel). "Mangalaba" was evidently a "gamey" place, for Parákrama Báhu and his followers stayed there some days enjoying deer-stalking and other pastimes.

It had now come to the knowledge of his old uncle Kittī Sirimegha that Parākrama Báhu had got out of Gaja Báhu's country alive and unhurt and the old man was overjoyed thereat, so much so that he sent letters of greeting and gifts to him by the hands of several leading men. Parākrama Báhu was very pleased and accompanied them as far as "Saraggáma" where he was met by a large assembly headed by several chiefs. This seems to have aroused his suspicion, for he put them off with various excuses as to going with them "at the moment the stars are favourable," but his followers got so frightened at the large assembly of king's men that they, one and all, bolted.

By this time Parākrama Báhu's mother, Ratanávali, had got news of what was going on; so she hastened north to see her brother-in-law in an attempt to put matters right, and satisfied herself that Kittī's regard for Parākrama Báhu was genuine. She then journeyed to "Saraggáma," took council with the chiefs, argued with her son and finally persuaded him to come back to his uncle who received him with open arms and proclaimed him as his heir and successor on the plea that he was getting old and would want a near relative to perform the last rites over him.

Here, I think, I must leave Parākrama Báhu. His uncle died soon after his return and he came into his own inheritance as was meet and right. From there, after putting his principality in order, he formulated, and carried out later, his great series of wars for the bringing of all Ceylon under one canopy of dominion—a subject on which volumes could be written.



## SOME ANCIENT PLANTS AND TREES OF CEYLON.

BY JOHN M. SENAVERATNA, F.R.H.S.

THE following notes represent an effort solely to deal for the first time with the plants and trees and creepers to which we find allusion made in the *Mahāvansa* (Chapters I. to XXXVII); in other words, to determine, so far as is possible at this day, what exactly are the Sinhalese names for the Pali references to the ancient Flora of Ceylon as appearing in our oldest and most reliable historical chronicle.

In the Sinhalese translation of the *Mahāvansa*,<sup>1</sup> as well as in Professor Geiger's English translation,<sup>2</sup> not a few of the Pali terms for plants reappear without any effort at translation. These require identification; not a few others are so vaguely or so inaccurately translated as to call for revision, and, in one instance at least, Geiger gives an absolutely wrong name for a particular tree.

In these circumstances the present enquiry may not prove uninteresting nor wholly useless. In one or two cases more definite information is wanted, and the writer will be grateful to any reader who can supply it.

The Pali (P) name is given first, followed in each case by the Sinhalese (S), Latin (L) and English (E) equivalents, wherever such are known. After these come quotations from the *Mahāvansa* showing the context in which each term occurs.

\* \* \* \* \*

To "trees" in general the *Mahāvansa* makes reference in the following passages, viz : VI. 15; VII. 6. 28; X. 8.10; XIV. 18 and XXIV. 38. It speaks of "fruit trees" and "flowering trees" at XI. 2 and "vine fruits" at XXXV. 6. and "healing herbs" at XI. 32, while flowers there were "of many kinds, of manifold colours" (XI. 12). But mention by name, of particular plants and trees, occurs only in connection with the following\* :—

### (P). *ĀDĀRI*

(S). *Hiya-vel* :

(L) ?

(E) ?

"At that time (Devānampiyatissa, 307 B.C.) the place of the thūpa was covered with flowering kadamba-plants and *ādāri*-creepers" (XVII. 31).

"*Ādāri*," (for which Geiger refers to the Sanskrit names of plants, "*ādāra*" and "*ādāribimbi*"), is rendered in the Sinhalese text by "*Hiya-vel*," (also known as *hi-vel*). But this latter does not occur in Dr. Willis' *Revised Catalogue of the Flowering Plants*

\* The *Pūjāvali* (pp. 20-22) states of King Mahā Dāthika Mahā Nāga (A. D. 9-21) that he "caused parks to be made at every four gav on the four sides of Anurādhapura . . . and planted gardens containing," among other trees, the following which do not occur at all in the *Mahāvansa*, viz :—

(S) *Nā*. (T) *Naka*. (L) *Mesua ferrea*. (E) Iron-wood.

(S) *Dombu* (T) *Punnai*. (L) *Calophyllum Inophyllum*.

(L) *Kripalu*. (L) *Buchanania latifolia*.

1. Translated under the orders of the Ceylon Government by the late Ven H. Siri Sumangala, High Priest, and the late Don Andris de Silva Batuwantudāwa, Pandit, and edited by M. Siri Nānissara, High Priest, Colombo, 1912.

2. Published by the Pali Text Society, London, 1912.

and Ferns of Ceylon, native and introduced ; and I cannot say what its Tamil, Latin and English equivalents are. Nor is *ádári* to be found in Childers <sup>3</sup> who usually gives the Botanical term for each plant.

## (P). AKKHO.

(S). *Bulu*.(L) *Terminalia Belerica* :(E) *Myrobalans*.

"In the mountain-region called Koṭṭa, at the time of the famine called the *Akkhakháyika* famine . . ." (XXXII. 29).

This was a famine during which the nuts called *akkha* (*Bulu* in Sinhalese) were eaten. These nuts at other times were (and are) used as dice.

The Sanskrit name for *Bulu* is *Vibhitaka* and the Tamil, *Tanti*.

## (P). AMBO.

(S). *Amba*.(L) *Mangifera indica*:(E). *Mango*.

(a) Note the "subtle question" asked of Devánampiyatissa by Mahinda :

"What name does this tree bear, O king ?"

"This tree is called a mango."

"Is there yet another mango beside this ?"

"There are many mango trees."

"And are there yet other trees besides this mango and the other mangoes ?"

"There are many trees, sir; but those are trees that are not mangoes."

"And are there, beside the other mangoes and those trees which are not mangoes, yet other trees ?"

"There is this mango-tree, sir."

"Thou hast a shrewd wit, O ruler of men !" (XIV. 17-19).

(b) Again, we are told of Devánampiyatissa :

"A ripe mango tree, <sup>4</sup> excellent in colour, fragrance and taste and of large size, did the gardener offer to the king, and the king offered the splendid fruit to the *thera* (Mahinda) . . . . When the *thera* was seated the king gave him the mango-fruit. When the *thera* had eaten it he gave the kernel to the king to plant. The king himself planted it there and over it, that it might grow, the *thera* washed his hands. In that same moment a shoot sprouted forth from the kernel and grew little by little to a tall tree bearing leaves and fruit. When those who were present with the king beheld this miracle, they stood there doing homage to the *thera*, their hair raising on end with amazement." (XV.38-44).

(c) "King Devánampiyatissa's second brother, the vice-regent named Mahánága, was dear to his brother. The king's consort, that foolish woman, coveted the kingship for her own son and ever nursed the wish to slay the vice-regent, and while he was making the tank called Taraccha she sent him a mango-fruit which she had poisoned and laid uppermost among other mango-fruits. Her little son, who had gone with the vice-regent, ate the mango-fruit, when the dish was uncovered, and died therefrom." (XXII.2-5).

## (P). ASANO.

(S). *Piya* (*Asana*.)(L) *Terminalia Alata Tomentosa* :

(E) ?

Of Ummáda-phussadeva, one of Duṭṭhagámini's giants, we are told that he could shoot an arrow, not only through a waggon laden with sand and a hundred skins bound one upon another, but also through "a slab of *asana* . . . wood eight inches thick" (XXIII. 87.)

The Sinhalese text gives *Piyá* which, however, does not occur in Willis (*op. cit.*)

The *Piyá* or *Piyala*, according to Clough (*Sinh.-Eng. Dictionary*), is the *Buchananía latifoliia*, the Tamil name for which is *Moreda* and the Sanskrit *Piala* or *Tapasa-priya* ("dear to hermits.")

3. *Pa'i Dictionary*.

4. This is a mistake. What the gardener offered was, not a tree but a ripe mango fruit.

But the Sinhalese name for the tree referred to in the text is the same as the Pali and Sanskrit, viz *Asana*, which in Tamil is called *maruta-maram*, the astringent powdered bark of which mixed with oil is used to remove apthae, according to Dr. John Attygalle (*Sinhalese Materia Medica*, p 74.)

## (P) BODHI.

(S) Bo :

(L) *Ficus religiosa* :

(E) Bo-tree.

[There is scarcely a page of the *Mahāvansa* which makes no reference, directly or indirectly, to the *Bo*, either to the sacred tree of Anurādhapura or to others planted elsewhere in the Island. To quote all the references would be practically to quote the whole book, which exigencies of space forbid. The reader is referred to the chronicle itself.]

## (P). CAMPAKO.

(S). Sapu :

(L) *Michelia Champaka* :

(E) Champak.

"When the therā (Mahinda) went thither they brought the king (Devānampiyatissa) eight baskets of *campaka*-flowers. The king offered the *campaka*-flowers to the therā and the therā did homage to the spot with the *campaka*-flowers."

According to the *Pūjāvaliya* (p 20) King Mahā Dāthika Mahā Nāga (A.D. 9-21) "caused parks to be made at every four *gav* on the four sides of Anurādhapura...and planted gardens containing (among other trees) *sapu*....."

The *champak* was apparently in the olden days as much in demand as the jasmine for religious purposes.

The garlands of which we read so much in history were almost always made of *champak* flowers.

The *Val-sapu* (*Michelia nilagirica*) is indigenous to Ceylon.

## (P). DUKŪLAM.

(S) Dūl (As-vel.)

(L) *Anodendron paniculatum*:

(E) ?

"Above their heads were pitchers five cubits high, filled with fragrant oil, with wicks made of *dukūla* fibres continually alight" (XXX. 94).

The *dūl* or *duhul* is also called *asvel*.

## (P) GANTHI (BANDHUJĪVA.)

(S) Banduvada

(L) *Pentapetes phoenicea*:

(E) ?

"And they set out for the land of the Northern Kurus and brought from thence six massive fat-coloured stones measuring eighty cubits in length and breadth, bright as the sun, eight inches thick and like to *ganṭhi* blossoms" (XXX. 58-9).

The *Mahāvansa Tikā* explains "*ganṭhi-puppha*" by "*bandhujīvaka-puppha*" which, according to *Sanskrit Wörterbuch von Böhtlingk und Roth* (7 vols, St. Petersburg, 1855-1875, s.v. "*bandhujiva* ") is the *Pentapetes phoenicea* (hat eine schöne rote Blume...),

Willis (*op. cit.*) gives the Latin name but not the Sinhalese nor the English equivalent.

Ven M. Siri Nānissara, High Priest, who, in his revised Sinhalese translation of the *Mahāvansa*, describes the flowers as "*bolgeṭapup*," tells me that they are in all likelihood "*vada-mal*." Neither of these latter is to be found in Willis' *Catalogue*.

But Dr. John Attygalle (*Sinhalese Materia Medica*, p 28) says:—

"There is some confusion with regard to the Sinhalese names of *Pentapetes phoenicea* and *Hibiscus Rosa-sinensis*. I have heard many call the latter *Baduwada* (බදුවදා). The author of Clough's *Dictionary* gives බදුවද (Baduwada) and බදාළකහ (Bada-ela-kaha) as names for *Hibiscus Rosa-sinensis*, shoe-flower or *Sapattu-mal*. This is wrong. *Pentapetes*

*phoenicea* and *Hibiscus Rosa-sinensis* are two different plants. *Hibiscus Rosa-sinensis* is *Wadamal* (වදමල්) or *Sapattu-mal* (සපත්තුමල්), and its Sanskrit names are *Rudrapushpan*, *Japapushpan* and *Sivapushpan*.

"*Pentapetes phoenicea* is *Banduwada* (බදුවද), not *Baduwada* (බදුවද), and its Sanskrit names are *Bandhuka*, *Bandhujiva* and *Raktaka*. The confusion has arisen probably in not observing the difference between the Sinhalese names, *Baduwada* (බදුවද) and *Banduwada* (බදුවද), for Clough gives බදු (*Bandu*) rightly enough for the Sinhalese name of *Pentapetes phoenicea* and yet he says *Bandhuka* and *Bandhujiva* are the names of shoe-flower. The *Saraswati Nigandu* however gives the two plants separately with their respective synonyms, and *Bandhuka* and *Bandhujiva* are the names of *Banduwada* (බදුවද) and not of *Baduwada* (බදුවද)."

#### (P) IMBARA.

(S) *Imburu* ? :

(L) ?

(E) ?

Of Gothaimbara, the giant, we read :

"Once when they had gone forth and were clearing the forest to lay out a bean-field, they left his share and came back and told him. Then forthwith he started out, and when he had torn up the trees called *imbara* and had levelled the ground, he came and told them" (XXIII, 52).

"*Imbara*" does not appear in Childers (*op. cit.*), and "*Imburu*," which is the name given in the Sinhalese translation of the *Mahāvamsa*, is unknown in Willis' work.

#### (P) JĀTĪ.

(S) *Desaman*.

(L) *Jasminum grandiflorum* :

(E) *Jasmine*.

(a) In connection with the acceptance of the Mahāvihāra, we are told that King Devānampiyatissa "offered jasmine blossoms to the therā" (Mahinda) who scattered handfuls of them at various spots (XV. 27 ff).

(b) And in connection with the beginning of the great Thūpa it is said that "when jasmine-flowers had been offered on that spot an earthquake came to pass" (XXIX. 61).

(c) Again, Duṭṭhagāmini, upon undertaking the making of the relic-chamber, "had three pitchers with jasmine-blossoms placed in the courtyard of the sacred Bodhi tree" (XXX. 27).

(d) Jasmine flowers were most *en evidence* at religious offerings and ceremonies. The demand for them was apparently so great in King Bhātikābhaya's time that we are told of him that, "doing away with the tax appointed for himself he planted *sumana* and *ujjuka* flowers over a yojana of land round the city" (XXXIV. 40). *Sumana* and *ujjuka* are two varieties of jasmine.

The *Pūjāvaliya* (p 20) tells us of King Mahādāthika Mahā Nāga (A.D. 9-21) that "he caused parks to be made at every four *gav* on the four sides of Anurādhapura without any contributions from the people, and planted gardens containing (among other trees) *śinidda* (large-flowered jasmine), *bolidda* (double jasmine), *désamam*."

The common garden *Pichcha*, also called *Geṭa-pichcha* (*Jasminum Sambac*),—*Varshiki* in Sanskrit—is what is known in English as *Arabian Jasmine*.

The oil prepared from the *Désaman* was, and is, the favourite perfume of the East.

#### (P) JAMBU.

(S). *Jambu (Damba)*:

(L) *Eugenia Jambos* :

(E) *Rose-apple*.

"From time to time the king (Samghatissa), with the women of the royal household and the ministers, used to go to Pācinadīpaka<sup>5</sup> to eat *jambu*-fruits, Vexed by his coming the people dwelling in Pācinadīpa poisoned the fruit of the *jambu*-tree from which the king was to eat. When he had eaten the *jambu*-fruits he died forthwith even there." (XXXVI. 70-2).

The Sinhalese text gives both *damba* and *jambu*, the former being the Elu form of the latter.

5. Pācinadīpaka means "East-Island." The *Tikā* says: *Mahatithapattane parato samudramojjhe sambhūtam Pācinadīpam agamāsi*, which would make out Pācinadīpa to be an island between the north point of Ceylon and the Indian continent.

It is commonly assumed that the *Eugenia Jambolana* is the Sinhalese *Jambu*.<sup>6</sup> But this is not so. *Mahá-dan* or *Mádan* (Tamil, *Peru-nával*, *Nával*) is the Sinhalese name for the *Jambolana*.

Clough has *Jambosa vulgaris* for the Sinhalese *jambu*.

#### (P) KADAMBA.

(S) ? **Hinguru-vel :** (L). *Nauclea Kadamba :* (E). ?

(a) "At that time (Devánampiyatissa, 307 B.C.) the place of the thúpa was covered with flowering *kadamba* plants" (XVII. 31).

(b) "The king's state-elephant that was used to wander about at will liked to stay on one side of the city in a cool grotto, on the border of a *kadamba*-flower-thicket...." (XIX. 73.6)

(c) "He (Dutthagámini) marched to Mahelanagara that had a triple trench and was surrounded by an undergrowth of *kadamba* flowers" (XXV. 48).

(d) "This fair woman (Somadeví)...alighted from the car at this spot and.. concealed herself in a thicket of flowering *kadambas*" (XXXIII. 85).

(e) "When one day in a thicket of flowering *kadambas* she (Subharája's daughter) saw an ascetic who was in the seventh day of the state of *nirodha*, she, the wise maiden, gave him the food." (XXXV. 104).

(6) The king (Gajabáhu-kagámini) founded the Mátu-vihára on the place of the thicket of flowering *kadambas*, in honour of his mother" (XXXV. 116).

It is difficult to say what exactly is the Sinhalese name of the tree or creeper referred to in the text above.

*Hinguru-vel* is the name given in the Sinhalese translation of the *Mahávansa* (and the context certainly indicates a creeper), but it does not appear in Willis' *Catalogue*, which, however, makes mention of a *Nauclea Zeylanica*.

But was Childers correct in identifying the Pali *kadamba* with *Nauclea Kadamba* ? Dr. Gabriel Gunawardana, in his *Medicinal Plants of Ceylon* (p 472), says that the *kadamba* is the *Anthocephalus Kadamba* which is the *Embul-bakmi* of the Sinhalese (Tamil *Vellai-kadampa*, Sanskrit, *Dhara Kadamba*). Now, Dr. John Attygalle (in his *Sinhalese Materia Medica*, p. 91) says that another name for *Embul-bakmi* is *Kolon* which in Willis' *Catalogue* is the *Adina cordifolia* (in Tamil *Manchal-kadampa*, *Raja-murunkai*, in Sanskrit *Haliprivya*), a tree sacred to Kali or Parvati, the consort of Siva, and called also *Sísu-pála*, "children protecting."

And to make the "confusion worse confounded," Clough, who identifies the *piyá-gaha* with the *Sarcocephalus cordatus*, gives the latter name (with the alternative of *Nauclea coadunata*) to the *Bakmi* too (Tamil *Vammi*.)

Willis (*op. cit.*) also mentions the *Stephegyne parvifolia* and identifies it with the Tamil *Chelampai* or *Nir-kadampa*.

Now, what is really the local equivalent for the Pali *Kadamba* ? Is it the *Nir-kadampa* of the Tamils, or the *Bakmi*, or *Embul-bakmi*, or *Kolon* or *Hinguru-vel* of the Sinhalese ? Or may it be Willis' *Nauclea Zeylanica* which still remains to be given its Sinhalese name ?

It might be added that the *Abhidhánappadípiká*—which has *Piyako* and *Nípo* (Childers calls it "a species of Asoka tree") as synonyms for *Kadambo*—gives the Sinhalese name as *Kolom* which is the *Adina cordifolia*.

#### (P) KAKUDHA.

(S) **Kumbuk :** (L). *Terminalia Arjuna (glabra) :* (E). ?

"At that time (Devánampiyatissa, 307 B.C.) there was within the enclosure of the royal park a little pond called the *Kakudha-pond*; at its upper end, on the brink of the water, was a level spot fitting for the thúpa" (XV. 52.3).

6. Vide Father Le Goe's *Introduction to Tropical Botany or Chapters of Nature Study*, p 150.



If by "*Kakudha*" is meant the *Kumbuk* tree—the Sinhalese text does not help us on the point—then it is easy to understand how the pond referred to above derived its name. To this day, among the Sinhalese, wells are sunk usually at the foot of a *kumbuk* tree which is said to make the water cool and limpid.

According to Childers, Dr. John Attygalle and Dr. Gabriel Gunawardana, the *kumbuk* is the *Terminalia Arjuna*, but in Willis' *Catalogue* it is described as *Terminalia glabra*, the Tamil for which is *Marutu*. Another Tamil name for it is *Vellai maruda maram*.

In regard to *kakudhaphala* (descriptive of a certain kind of pearl) at *Mahāvansa* XI. 14—which Childers renders by "kabubha fruit" and Geiger by "kakudha fruit-pearl"—the *Pūjāvaliya* (p. 3) translates it correctly thus, viz, "pearls resembling the fruit of the *kubuk* (*Terminalia glabra*)."

#### (P) KANGU.

(S). *Tanasāl* : (L) *Setaria italica* : (E). Italian Millet.

"A goodly dish of sour millet-gruel was gotten for five great theras who had overcome the *āsavas*, and offered to them with a believing heart" (XXXII. 30).

"When the one of those five theras, the thera Malayamahādeva, who received the sour millet-gruel, had given thereof to nine hundred bhikkhus on the Sumanakūta-mountain, he ate of it himself" (XXXII. 49-50).

*Tanasāl* or *Tanahāl* is the *Setaria italica* (Willis, Clough, Dr. Gabriel Gunawardana), but Dr. John Attygalle (*op. cit.*) identifies it with the *Setaria intermedia* which, according to Willis, is a variety of the same plant. Clough has *Panicum Italicum* for *kangu*.

#### (P) KAPITTHA.

(S). *Divul* : (L). *Feronia elephantum* : (E). Wood-apple, Elephant-apple.

In connection with the beginning of the great Thūpa we are told that "with resin of the *Kapittha*-tree dissolved in sweetened water, the lord of chariots laid over the stones a sheet of copper eight inches thick" (XXIX. 11-2).

*Kapittha* is the Sinhalese *Divul*, commonly but mistakenly called *Dimbul* which, however, is another name for the *Udumbara* or *Aṭṭikkā* tree.

The Tamil name for the *Divul* is *Vila*, *Vilatti* which Dr. John Attygalle calls *Nilavilam*. Willis gives another Tamil name for it, viz, *Mayaladikkuruntu*, but this is the *Cadaba trifoliata*.

#### (P) KETAKI.

(S). *Mūdu-keyiya* : (L). *Pandanus Odoratissimus* : (E). Screw-pine.

"The King (Vattagāmini), glad at heart, recording it upon a *ketaka*-leaf, allotted lands to his vihāra (Kupikkala-vihāra of the thera Mahātissa) for the use of the brotherhood" (XXXIII. 50).

As Professor Geiger rightly observes, royal donations were, as a rule, recorded on copper plates or might be on silver and gold plates.

Another name for the *Mūdu-keyiya*, according to Clough, is *Vēṭa-keyiya*, the Tamil for which is *Talai*. Dr. Gabriel Gunawardana has *Mūdu-vēṭa-keyiya*.

According to the *Pūjāvaliya* (p 20) King Mahādāthika Mahā Nāga (A.D. 9-21) "caused parks to be made at every four *gav* on the four sides of Anurādhapura...and planted gardens containing (among other trees) *dunuké* (*Pandanus foetidus*) and *vēṭaké* (*Pandanus odoratissimus*).

## (P) KHARAPATTA.

(S) ? **Sevana-mediya :** (L). *Ficus asperrima :* (E). **Furniture-leaf.**

"And he (Saddhá Tissa) had a chatta made of bamboo-reeds by plaiters of reeds and on the upper vediká a sun and moon of *kharapatta*." (XXXII. 5).

The Ven M. Siri Nánissara, High Priest, tells me that the Pali *Kharapatta* (which, by the way, does not occur in Childers) is the Sinhalese *Sevana-meḍiya* (*Ficus asperrima*), called *Furniture-leaf* in English.

## (P) KUMBHANDAKA.

(S) **Komadu, (Mas-komadu) :** (L) *Citrullus vulgaris :* (E) **Water-melon.**

"King Ámandiya, filling the almsbowls with the fruit, called 'flesh melons'... ; because he had filled the almsbowls with them he received the name Ámandagámani" (XXXV. 7-8).

The Pali text has "*mamsakumbhaṇḍakam*" for what is here described as "flesh melons." According to *Abhidh.* 1030, "*kumbhandaka*" is a creeping-plant which the late High Priest Subhúti identified as the Sinhalese "*puhul*" (*pumpkin-gourd*) and which is rendered in the Sinhalese text as "*komadu*." Geiger considers "*mamsak*" to be a particular variety; and, since the text connects the king's name with it, "*ámanda*," which elsewhere means the "castor-oil plant," would appear to be a synonym of the above-mentioned. But High Priest Subhúti's identification, referred to above, can scarcely be correct. For we have a distinct word in Pali for *puhul*, viz *Kusumánda* (Sanskrit *Kushmánda*) which is the *Cucurbita Pepo*, called in English *Pumpkin* or *Vegetable marrow*. Clough has *Cucurbita Pepo* for *Labu-geḍiya* !

The Pali *Kumbhandaka* is obviously the *Citrullus vulgaris*, which is called *komadu* in Sinhalese and *Water-melon* in English (Sanskrit : *Tarambuja*, Tamil : *Pitcha-pullum*). The *Mamsa-kumbhandaka* here is a variety of the *komadu*, viz *mas-komadu*.

Another variety of the *Komadu* is *Citrullus Colocynthis*, Sinhalese *Yak-komadu*, Sanskrit *Indravaruni Vishala*, Tamil *Tumatti*, *Peykomatti*.

## (P) LÁBU (ALÁBU).

(S). **Labu (Diya-labu) :** (L). *Lagenaria vulgaris* (E). **Pumpkin, Bottle gourd, Calabash Cucumber.**

There is no specific mention of this plant. The only reference to it occurs in connection with the battle between Prince Pandukábhaya and his uncles and the "pyramid of skulls" which the Prince's men raised after the battle. "'Tis like a heap of gourds" said the Prince, "and therefore they named the place Lábugámaka" (X. 72).

The Pali *Lábu* or *Alábu* is the *Diya-labu* of the Sinhalese, Tamil *Shorakai* (Willis has *Churai*) and called in English by the names of *Pumpkin*, *Bottle gourd* and *Calabash Cucumber*.

## (P). MADHUKO.

(S). **Mi :** (L) *Bassia Longifolia :* (E) ?

The offerings for the great Thúpa included *inter alia* "many lamps with stuff-wicks in *madhuka-oil*" (XXXIV. 56).

Geiger in a note describes this as "oil pressed from the seeds of the *Bassia Latifolia*," But this is a mistake. It is not the *Bassia Latifolia* (Sinhalese *Bú-mi*) but the *Bassia Longifolia* Sinhalese : *Mi*, Tamil : *Iluppat*) which is used in the preparation of the oil.

In India, in the olden days as now, *Mi* flowers, seeds and oil are used as food. And it is from *Mi* flowers that the modern Bengalee distils the spirit called *Mahva*, *Madhavi* or *Madhvasava* which is as popular in Bengal as arrack is in Ceylon.

## (P) MUCALINDO.

(S). ? *Ela-midella* : (L) *Barringtonia acutangula* : (E) ?

"When he (Sirināga) had restored the wall round about the great Bodhi tree, then did this king also build in the sand-court of the temple of the great Bodhi-tree, to the south of the *Mucela* tree, the beautiful Hamsavatta and a great pavilion besides." (XXXVI. 56).

The Pali *Mucela* is the Sinhalese *Ela-midella*, Sanskrit *Hijia* or *Hijjala*, *Saniúdra-phalā*, Tamil *Kadapum*. The Tamil form of the name given by Willis (*op. cit.*) is *Adampu*.

## (P) NÁLIKERO.

(S). *Pol* : (L) *Cocos nucifera* : (E) *Coconut*.

Theraputtābhaya, another of king Duṭṭhagāmini's paladins, had (we are told), when he was sixteen years old, been given by his father a club 38 inches round and 16 cubits long, with which "when he smote the stems of coco-palms he felled them" (XXIII. 58-9).

And the weapon which Goṭhaimbara wields in battle against the Tamils is "a cocos-palm" (XXV. 46).

The *Nálikero* is the familiar *Coconut*, Sanskrit *Nárikela*, Tamil *Tenha*, *Tenna-maram* (Willis *Tennai*.)

## (P) NIGRODHO.

(S). *Maha Nuga* : (L) *Ficus benghalensis* : (E) *Banyan-tree*.

It was "at the foot of a banyan tree" (*nigrodhamúlasim*) that Princess Suvannapāli offered food in a golden bowl to Prince Pandukābhaya and "took *banyan*-leaves to entertain the rest of the people with food" (X. 35-6).

The only other reference to a Banyan-tree is that of Kassapa, the Buddha before Gautama. This is described as having been planted near about the present Ruvanveli-Sēya dāgaba at a period of time in the hoary past when this Island bore the name of Maṇḍadīpa. At that time, we are also told, the capital of the Island was named Visāla, the Mahāmegha grove was called Mahāsāgara, and the name of the King of the region was Jayanta (XV. 125-152).

The *Nigrodho* is not merely the *nuga* but the *Maha Nuga*, in Tamil *Al* (*Ala*).

## PADUMÁNI or POKKHARAM. (Lotus.)

(See remarks under "Uppala.")

## (P) PANASO.

(S). *Kos* (*Varaka*) : (L) *Artocarpus integrifolia* : (E) *Jak*.

An Anurādhapura merchant, on his way to Malaya "in order to bring ginger and so forth," halts near the Ambatṭhakola-cave. "As he saw here a branch of a *Kos* (*Varaka*) tree, bearing one single fruit as large as a water-pitcher, and dragged down by the weight of the fruit, he cut the fruit which was lying on a stone away from the stalk with his knife." (XXVIII. 23-4).

Geiger, misled apparently by Childers (see *Pali Dictionary*), makes the mistake of translating "*Panaso*" by "bread-fruit tree" (*Artocarpus incisa*). Childers renders "*Panaso*" by "Jack or bread-fruit tree." But the two are distinct varieties.

That the fruit referred to in the *Mahāvansa* text is the *Kos* or *Varaka* (and not the "bread-fruit" or *raṭa-del*) is obvious even from the context. "Fruit as large as a water-pitcher," "the weight of the fruit," "the juice" and the filling of the bowls "with the kernels" (*panasaminjāhi*) indicate only too clearly that the fruit was a *varaka* or rather *pēni-varaka-gediya*, not "bread-fruit." The *Kos* is in Sanskrit *Panasa*, in Tamil *Pilu*.

## (P) PICULO.

(S). **Imbul (Himbul)** : (L) *Eriodendron anfractuosum* : (E) **Silk-cotton tree.**

There is only one reference to this tree :

"The noble king (Devānampiyatissa) offered jasmine-blossoms to the thera (Mahinda), and the thera went to the royal dwelling and scattered eight handfuls of blossoms about the *picula*-tree standing on the south side of it" (XV, 27).

The *Picula* according to Childers is the Tamarisk tree which, by the way, does not figure in Willis' *Catalogue*. Geiger identifies it with the *Tamarix Indica*. Clough (*op. cit*) under "*Pichchilā*" has the following :—

Silk cotton tree—*Eriodendron anfractuosum*.

Large timber tree—*Dalbergia sisu*.

Esculent root.....—*Alocasia indica*.

Pot herb.....—*Basella rubra* and *lucida*.

Indian tamarisk...—*Tamarix indica*.

Childers, too, under "*Pichchilā*," names the silk-cotton tree.

The Sinhalese translation of the *Mahāvansa* gives *imbul* (*himbul*) for the Pali *picula*, and *imbul*, called also *pulun-imbul*, is the Sinhalese name for the white silk-cotton tree *Eriodendron anfractuosum* (Sanskrit, *Salmali*; Tamil, *Illanku*).

I have assumed therefore that *Picula* is to be identified, not with the Tamarisk tree (*Tamarix indica*), but with the *Imbul* (*Eriodendron anfractuosum*).

It must be added, however, that the *Pūjāvaliya* in this connection has *pulila* for the *picula* of the *Mahāvansa*. *Pulila* (Sanskrit *Kakodumbara*) is *Ficus Arnottiana*, the *Kavudu-Bo* or *Kaputu-Bo* of the Sinhalese.

For the *Kākodumbarika* Childers gives "the opposite-leaved fig-tree, *Ficus Oppositifolia*," which is not mentioned in Willis' *Catalogue*.

## (P) PŪGO.

(S). **Puvak** : (L) *Areca Catechu* : (E) **Arecanut Palm.**

"Subhadeva....loosened the earth round about an *areca palm*, with the shaft of his spear, as he walked round the tree, and when he had made it thus to hold but feebly by the roots, he struck it down with his arm." (XXXVI. 47).

*Puvak* in Sanskrit is *Guvaka*, *Puga*, and in Tamil, *Pakku*. Willis gives the Tamil name as *Kamukai*.

## (P) SĀLA.

(S) **Hal, (Sal)** : (L). *Shorea Robusta* : (E) **Saul tree.**

"When he (Devānampiyatissa) had built a beautiful hall (for the great Bodhi tree) adorned in manifold ways, and there on the first day of the bright half of the month Kattika had caused the great Bodhi-tree to be placed on the east side of the foot of a beautiful and great *sāla* tree, he allotted to it day by day many offerings" (XVIII. 64-5).

The *Shorea Robusta*, which Clough describes as a "superior kind of the *hal* tree," is not mentioned by Trimen as growing in Ceylon. Its local representative, i.e. the Ceylon *hal*, is what is known as *Vateria Acuminata*.

According to Dr. John Attygalle (*op. cit.*), Piney tallow tree is called *Hal* by the Sinhalese and *Vellai Kungiliyam* by the Tamils and *Dupada* by the old Sanskrit writers. The bark, cut into small pieces, is put into toddy pots to prevent fermentation instead of the pots being limed, which is generally done where *Hal* bark is not available.

The gum resin of *Shorea Robusta* is the Rosin of commerce and *Ral* of Hindu writers.

Clough gives *Sála-kalyáni* for the *Shorea* which is called in Sanskrit *Sála*, *Asvakarna*, and in Tamil *Kungiliyam*.

### (P) SATTAPANNA.

(S). **Ruk-attana :** (L) *Alstonia scholaris :* (E) ?

"As he (thera Mahásiva), leaning against a great *Sattapanna* tree, saw those women . . ." (XXX. 47).

The *Sattapanna* is the *Ruk-attana* of the Sinhalese, called in Sanskrit *Saptaparni* and in Tamil *Ezhilaip-palai*. Willis gives the Tamil name as *Elilaippalai*.

### (P) SINGIVERAM.

(S). **Hinguru (Inguru) :** (L) *Zingiber officinale :* (E) **Ginger.**

"A merchant from the city (Anurádhapura), taking many waggons with him, in order to bring *ginger* and so forth from Maláya, had set out for Maláya (XXVIII. 21).

The *Inguru* is called in Sanskrit *Mahaushadha*, *Sunthi*, and in Tamil *Shukku*. The Tamil name for it given by Willis is *Inji*.

### (P) SIRÍSO.

(S). **Mára or Súriyamára :** (L) *Albizzia Lebbek* or *odoratissima :* (E) ?

"Bringing the south branch of my Bodhi-tree, the *Sirisa*, with her, the bhikkhuni Rucánandá shall come hither with other bhikkhunís" (XV. 78).

"Then the Sambuddha went northwards from this place, and sitting in the beautiful *Sirisa-málaka* (acacia enclosure) the Tathágata preached the true doctrine to the people" (XV. 84-5).

Both Childers and Geiger incorrectly call this the *Acacia Sirisa* which, by the way, is not to be found in Willis' *Catalogue*.

The Pali and Sanskrit *Sirisa* is either the *Albizzia Lebbek* (Sinhalese *Mára*, Tamil *Kona*, *Vakai*) or the *Albizzia odoratissima* (Sinhalese *súriya-mára* or *huriyi*, Tamil *Ponnai-murunkai*), probably the former.

The Sinhalese translation of the *Mahávansa* gives *mahari-ruka* (*mára*) which is the *Albizzia Lebbek*. It ought to be stated, however, that *Adenantha Pavorina*, ordinarily called *madatiya* in Sinhalese, is also called *mahari* (Tamil *Anaikuntumani*.)

### (P) TÁLA

(S) **Tal :** (L) *Borassus flabelliformis :* (E) **Palmyra palm**

When Prince Pandukábhaya encountered the horse-faced yakkhini named Cetiya "he seized her by the mane and grasped a *palm-leaf* that was floating" down the Mahaveli-ganga (X. 59).

Note also "the *Palmyra-palm* (shrine) of the Demon of Maladies (X. 89) in the same Pandukábhaya's time.

The justice of King Elára's rule is illustrated, *inter alia*, by the reference to a snake that had "devoured the young of a bird upon a *palm-tree*" (XXI. 19).

The giant Mahásona's bodily strength is illustrated by the manner in which "at the time when he was seven years old he tore up young *palms*" and "when he was ten years..... tore up great *palm-trees*." (XXIII. 46).

Similarly the giant Theraputtábhaya shows his strength when, with his club, 38 inches round and 16 cubits long, "he smote the stems of *palmyra-palms* and felled them" (XXIII. 59).

In the battle of Vijita-nagara the weapon of attack and defence which the giant Mahásona uses is "a *palmyra palm*" (XXV. 46).

The *Tal* is called in Sanskrit *Tala* and in Tamil *Panai-maram*.

#### (P) TAMBÚLAM.

(S) *Bulat* :

(L) *Piper Betle* :

(E) *Betel pepper*.

"And the wife, to guard Vasabha carefully who went with him, put *betel* into his hand but without powdered chalk (Sinh. *hunu*). Now when the commander, at the gate of the palace, saw the *betel* without chalk, he sent him back for chalk" (XXXV. 62-3).

This is the first, and only, reference in the *Mahávansa* to the practice of betel-chewing among the Sinhalese—a practice which is thus proved to be at least 1,800 years old in this country.

The Sanskrit name for *Bulat* is *Tambúlan* and the Tamil *Vettilai*.

#### (P) TILO.

(S) *Tel-tala* :

(L) *Sesamum Indicum* :

(E) *Gingelly*.

"With resin of the kapittha-tree, dissolved in sweetened water, the lord of chariots laid over the stones a sheet of copper eight inches thick, and over this, with arsenic dissolved in *sesamum-oil*, he laid a sheet of silver seven inches thick" (XXIX. 12).

The offerings for the great Thúpa included *inter alia* "many lamps with stuff-wicks in madhuka-oil and *sesamum-oil* besides" (XXXIV. 56).

Yama, King of Death, is said to have created the *sesamum* seed which is symbolic of immortality. The oil is used in connection with various Hindu and Sinhalese ceremonies and on festive occasions.

Scholars seem to think that the very word *Taila* (Sanskrit for "oil") was probably derived from *Tila*. It would therefore seem that *sesamum* oil was the first oil extracted by the Hindus of old.

The Tamil name for the *sesamum* is *Ellu*, or *Ella* as Willis gives it.

#### (P) UDUMBARA.

(S) *Attikka* :

(L) *Ficus Glomerata* :

(E) ?

"Bringing the south branch of my Bodhi tree, the *udumbara* with her, the bhikkhuni Kantakánandá shall come hither with other bhikkhunīs" (XV. 112).

Of Ummáda-phussadeva, the greatest Sinhalese marksman of ancient times, it is recorded *inter alia* that "a slab of....*udumbara*-wood sixteen inches thick....he shot through with the arrow (XXIII. 87).

The Coronation-Chair of Sinhalese (as well as Indian) Kings had to be of this *attikka* or *udumbara* wood. For the origin of this custom, see my notes elsewhere.

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7. That is, to Vishnu. The allusion is to the colour of the blue lotus (*uppalu*).

The *Ficus Glomerata* (Sanskrit *udumbra*, Tamil *atti*) has three Sinhalese names, viz., *Udumbara* (same as Pali), *Aṭṭikkā*, and *Dimbul* which is commonly but mistakenly used in reference to the *Divul* (wood-apple).

The Sinhalese translation of the *Mahāvansa* has "*dimbul*" which, being in reference to the *udumbara*, is quite correct.

(P) UMMÁ.

(S) *Diya-meraliya* : (L) *Monschoria hastaeifolia* : (E) *Flax*.

"In a northerly direction from the city, at a distance of seven yojanas, in a cave opening on the Pelivápiḡagáma-tank, above on the sand, four splendid gems had formed in size like to a small mill-stone, in colour like *flax* flowers, radiantly beautiful." (XXVIII. 39-40)

The Sinhalese text of the *Mahāvansa* translates *Ummá* by *Diya-merali* which is another name for the *Diya-beraliya* or *Diya-habarala* (*Monochoria hastaeifolia*).

(P) UPPALAM.

(S) *Nelum* : (L) *Nelumbium speciosum* : (E) *Lotus, Sacred Bean*.

(a) "When the lord of gods heard the words of the Tathágata, he from respect handed over the guardianship of Lanká to the god who is in colour like the *lotus*." (VII. 5).

(b) "When the man saw the pond and the woman-hermit sitting there, he bathed there and drank and taking young shoots of *lotuses* and water in *lotus*-leaves he came forth again" (VII. 12).

(c) "*Lotus*-flowers of the five colours blossomed all around" (XIX. 18).

(d) "She (Duṭṭhagámini's mother) longed to adorn herself with garlands of unfaded *lotus*-blossoms brought from the *lotus*-marshes of Anurádhapura" (XXII. 46-7).

(e) "When he (Velusumana) saw that this man trusted him, he, the fearless one, laid *lotus*-flowers and his sword down on the shore of the Kadamba-river early in the morning; and when he had led the horse out and had mounted it and had grasped the *lotus*-blossoms and the sword, he made himself known . . ." (XXII. 53-4).

(f) "When he (Suránimmla) had seen the whole city and had bought perfumes in the bazaar, had gone forth again by the north gate and had brought *lotus* blossoms from the *lotus* field, he sought out the brahman . . ." (XXIII. 29-30).

(g) "Gay with various gems were the *lotus*-flowers on the *vedikás* . . . . . *lotus*-blossoms made of various gems were fitly placed here and there . . ." (XXVII. 27.34.)

(h) "The figures of sun, moon and stars and different *lotus*-flowers, made of jewels, were fastened to the canopy . . . devas with *lotus*-blossoms and so forth in their hands" (XXX. 68.92.)

(i) "He (Bhátikábhaya) had a net of coral prepared and cast over the *cetiya*, and when he had commanded them to fasten in the meshes thereof *lotus*-flowers of gold large as waggon-wheels, and to hang clusters of pearls on these that reached to the *lotus*-flower beneath, he worshipped the Great Thupa with this offering" (XXXIV. 47-8).

(j) And the other offerings for the great Thupa included "*lotus*-flowers arrayed in minium that lay ankle-deep in the courtyard of the *cetiya*, where they had poured it molten . . . ; *lotus*-flowers that were fastened in the holes of mattings, spread on fragrant earth, wherewith the whole courtyard of the *cetiya* was filled." (XXXIV. 53-4).

The references at VII. 12 ; XIX. 18 ; XXVII. 27.34; XXX. 68.92 and XXXIV. 47-8 are to the *nelum* (*Nelumbium speciosum*) and the others to the *upul*, which is also called *mánel* (*Nymphaea stellata*).

Dr. Trimen in his work on the *Flora of Ceylon* and Dr. Willis in his *Revised Catalogue of the Flowering Plants and Ferns of Ceylon* describe only the three following plants of the order

## NYMPHAEACEAE

- 1 (S) **Olu, Et-olu** : (L) *Nymphaea Lotus* : (E) **Water-lily, Egyptian Lotus.**  
 2 (S) **Mánel, Upul** : (L) *Nymphaea stellata* : (E) **Water-lily.**  
 3 (S) **Nelum** (L) *Nelumbium speciosum* ; (E) **Lotus, Sacred Bean.**

No. 1. *Nymphaea Lotus* or *Nymphaea Pubescens* (Sanskrit *Kumudu*, Tamil *Ampal*) is common *Olu* or *Et-ólu* found in almost all the streams, ponds and tanks in the Low-country and up to an elevation of 1,000 feet.

No. 2. *Nymphaea stellata*, (Sanskrit *Nílótpala*) is the less common *mánel* or *upul*, i.e. the blue lotus.

No. 3. *Nelumbium speciosum* (Sinhalese *Nelum*, *Padma*, *Padmini*, *Piyuma*, *Siya-pat* ; Sanskrit *Padma*, *Kamala* ; Tamil *Tamarai*) was, and is, not only the most important and the most largely used medicinally, but also the chief classical plant of the Hindus and the Sinhalese. It was called *Lotus* by the Europeans in the East and *Egyptian Lotus* by the ancient Greeks.

The *Nelumbium*, which has been the theme of poets and other writers of all ages, is thus described in Dutt's *Hindu Materia Medica* :—

“ These beautiful aquatic plants had attracted the attention of the ancient Hindus from a very remote period, and obtained a place in their religious ceremonies and mythological fables ; hence they are described in great detail by Sanskrit writers.

“ The flowers of *Nelumbium speciosum*, called *Padma* or *Kamala*, are sacred to Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth and prosperity. The white variety of this plant is called *Pundarika*, the red *Kokanáda* and the blue *Indivára*. The entire plant including root, stem and flower is called *Padmini*. The torus or receptacle for the seed is called *Karnikára*, and the honey formed in the flowers, *Makaranda*. The filaments round the base of the receptacle pass by the name of *Kinjalka* and the leaf-stalk by that of *Mrinála*.”

The *Sarasvati Nighantu* mentions several varieties of *Nelum* with a number of synonyms for each :

**Nelum** : *Mahótpala*, *Kamala*, *Padma*.

**Hela-nelum** : *Pundarika*, *Sítámbuja*.

**Ratu-Pul** : *Raktótpala*, *Kókanada*.

**Nilu-Pul** : *Nílótpala*, *Indivara*.

The Hindus liken the world at the creation to a Lotus floating on water, and it is emblematic of the heavens. Brahma is supposed to sleep on a bed of Lotus six months of the year and to watch the other six months, in allusion to the seasons, Brahma standing for the sun.

The Lotus is the national flower of Ceylon and the Sinhalese.

## (P) VELU.

- (S) **Maskara** (colloq. **Una-gaha**) (L) *Bambusa vulgaris* : (E) **Bamboo.**

“ At the foot of the Cháta-mountain there grew up three *bamboo*-stems, in girth even as a waggon-pole. One of them, ‘ the creeper-stem,’ shone like silver ; on this might be seen delightful creepers gleaming with a golden colour. But one was the ‘ flower-stem,’ on this again might be seen flowers of many kinds, of manifold colours, in full bloom. And last, one was the ‘ bird-stem ’ whereon might be seen numbers of birds and beasts of many kinds, and of many colours, as if living.” (XI. 10-13).

Saddhátissa “ had a chatta made of *bamboo*-reeds by plaiters of reeds ” (XXXII. 5).

*Maskara*, colloquially *una-gaha*, is the Sinhalese name for the *Bambusa vulgaris* which in Sanskrit is called *Vansa* or *Venu*.



**APPENDIX A.**  
*Pali Names Alphabetically Arranged*

Pali	Sinhalese.	Tamil.	Sanskrit.	Latin.	English.
Ádári	Hiya-vel { Hi-vel	Tanti	Ádára	<i>Terminalia belerica</i>	Myrobalans
Akkho	Bulu	?	Vibhítaka	<i>Mangifera indica</i>	Mango
Ambo	Ambo	Marúta-maram	Asana	<i>Terminalia Alata Tomentosa</i>	Bo-tree
Asano	Asana (? Piyá)	Arachu	Champak	<i>Ficus religiosa</i>	Champak
Bodhi	Bo	Champang	Arjun	<i>Michelia champaka</i>	
Campak	Sapu	Nágapu	Arkayallabha	<i>Anodendron paniculatum</i>	
Dukúlam	Dúl (Asvel)		Jambu (Rájaphala)	<i>Eugenia Jambos</i>	Rose-apple
Gañhi (Bandhujiva)	Banduwada		Játi	<i>Jasminum grandiflorum</i>	Jasmine
Imbara	Imburu		Arjuna	<i>? Nauclea Kadamba</i>	Myrobalans
Jambu	Jambu			<i>Terminalia Arjuna (glabra)</i>	Italian millet
Játi	Désaman			<i>Selaria italica</i>	Wood-apple, Elephant apple
Kadamba	? Hinguru-vel			<i>Feronia elephantum</i>	
Kakudha	Kumbuk	Maútu		<i>Pandanus odoratissimus</i>	Screw-pine
Kangu	Tanahál	Vila (Vilatti)		<i>Ficus asperima</i>	Furniture leaf
Kapittha	Divul	Talai	Tarambuja	<i>Citrullus vulgaris</i>	Water-melon
Ketaka	Múdu(veṭa) keyiya		Alábu	<i>Lagenaria vulgaris</i>	Pumpkin, gourd
Kharapatta	? Sevana-mediya		Madhuka	<i>Bassia Longifolia</i>	
Kumbhandaka	Komadú, Mas-komadu		Hijia (Hijjala)	<i>Barringtonia acutangula</i>	
Lábu (Alábu)	Diya-labu		Narikela	<i>Cocos nucifera</i>	Coconut
Madhuko	Mi		Nyagrodha (Vata)	<i>Ficus benghalensis</i>	Banyan
Mucalindo	Ela-midella		Panasa	<i>Artocarpus integrifolia</i>	Jak
Nálikero	Pol		Guvaka, Puga	<i>Eriodendron anfractuosum</i>	Silk-cotton
Nigrodho	Maha nuga		Sala, Asvakarna	<i>Areca Catechu</i>	Arecanut Palm
Panaso	Kos (Varaka)		Salmali	<i>Alstonia scholaris</i>	Saul tree
Picula	Imbul (Himbul)		Guvaka, Puga	<i>Zingiber officinale</i>	Ginger
Púgo	Puvak		Sala, Asvakarna	<i>Albizia odoratissima</i>	Palmyra-palm
Sála	Hal (Sal)		Sapiaparni	<i>Piper Betle</i>	Betel pepper
Sattapanna	Ruk-attana		Mahaushadha	<i>Sesamum Indicum</i>	Gingelly
Singiveram	Inguru		Tala	<i>Ficus glomerata</i>	
Siriso	Mára		Tila	<i>Monochoria hastaeifolia</i>	Lotus, Sacred Bean
Tála	Súriya-mará }		Udumbra	<i>Nymphaea stellata</i>	Bamboo
Tálo	Tal			<i>Bambusa vulgaris</i>	
Tambulam	Bulat				
Tilo	Tel-tala				
Udumbara	Aññiká, Dimbul				
Ummá	Diya-meraliya }				
Uppalam	Diya-habarala }				
Velu	Manel (Upul)				
	Maskara (Una)				

## APPENDIX B.

*Sinhalese Names Alphabetically Arranged.*

Amba	<i>Mangifera indica</i>
Asana	<i>Terminalia Alata Tomentosa</i>
Asvël (Dúl)	<i>Anodendron paniculatum</i>
Aṭṭikká (Dimbul)	<i>Ficus Glomerata</i>
Banduvada	<i>Pentapetes phoenicea</i>
Bó	<i>Ficus religiosa</i>
Bulat	<i>Piper Betle</i>
Bulu	<i>Terminalia belerica</i>
Deṣaman	<i>Jasminum grandiflorum</i>
Dimbul	<i>Ficus glomerata</i>
Divul	<i>Feronia elephantum</i>
Diya-habarala	<i>Monochoria hastaeifolia</i>
Diya-labu	<i>Lagenaria vulgaris</i>
Diya-meraliya	<i>Monochoria hastaeifolia</i>
Dúl (Asvël)	<i>Anodendron paniculatum</i>
Ela-midella	<i>Barringtonia acutangula</i>
Habarala	(see "Diya-habarala")
Hal (Sal)	<i>Eriodendron anfractuosum</i>
Himbul	? <i>Nauclea Kadamba</i>
Hinguru-veḷ	?
Hiya (Hi)-veḷ	<i>Eriodendron anfractuosum</i>
Imburu	?
Inguru	<i>Zingiber officinale</i>
Jambu	<i>Eugenia Jambos</i>
Keyiya	(see "Múdu-keyiya")
Komadu (Mas-komadu)	<i>Citrullus vulgaris</i>
Kos (Varaka)	<i>Artocarpus integrifolia</i>
Kumbuk	<i>Terminalia glabra (Arjuna)</i>
Labu	(see "Diya-labu")
Maha Nuga	<i>Ficus benghalensis</i>
Mánel (Upul)	<i>Nymphaea stellata</i>
Mará	<i>Albizzia Lebbek</i>
Maskara (Una)	<i>Bambusa vulgaris</i>
Mas-komadu	(see "Komadu")
Meḍiya	(see "Sevana-meḍiya")
Meraliya	(see "Diya-meraliya")
Mí	<i>Bassia Longifolia</i>
Midella	(see "Ela-midella")
Múdu-keyiya	<i>Pandanus odoratissimus</i>
Nuga	(see "Maha Nuga")
Piyá	(see "Asana")
Pol	<i>Cocos nucifera</i>
Puvak	<i>Areca Catechu</i>
Ruk-attana	<i>Alstonia Scholaris</i>
Sal (Hal)	<i>Shorea Robusta</i>
Sapu	<i>Michelia Champaka</i>
Sevana-Meḍiya	<i>Ficus asperrima</i>
Súriya-Mará	<i>Albizzia odoratissima</i>
Tal	<i>Borassus jlabelliformis</i>
Tanahál	<i>Setaria italica</i>
Tel-tala	<i>Sesamum Indicum</i>
Una (Maskara)	<i>Bambusa vulgaris</i>
Upul (Mánel)	<i>Nymphaea stellata</i>
Varaka (Kos)	<i>Artocarpus integrifolia</i>

## ANTIQUITIES IN THE SOUTHERN PROVINCE.

DIARY OF THE LATE MR. E. R. AYRTON,

(*Archæological Commissioner of Ceylon.*)

WITH NOTES BY JOHN M. SENAVERATNA, F.R.H.S.

*Continued from Vol. VI, Page 197.*

14-3-14 : Cycled from Matara to Dondra, saw finish of work and cycled on to Dikwela Rest House.

15-3-14 ; Went back to Baberende at 109½ mile on Hunudeniya Road, app. 1 m. Vihāre ; old name

### KURUMBUREPURNĀRĀMA VIHĀRE.

A gold drum (*raṇ kurumbure*) is said to have been buried here as a treasure. Only the Vihāre premises are known as Kurumbere. It is called *Brahma-cōla Vihāre* in the *Saddharmāṅkāra*. There was originally a Bo-tree, *dāgaba*, and old *pansala*, now gone. New *pansalas* put up 150 years ago and restoration made by Denatapitiye Sangharakkhita High Priest of Low-country. His *soṇ*<sup>1</sup> is here, also that of his guru High Priest of Lalpi Vihāre, Kandaboda Pattu.

It is said that a certain Rahat<sup>2</sup> living here was once thirsty and, meeting a woman, she offered a water-pot. He drank it all. Her husband, seeing it empty, told her to go back and bring back the water from the Rahat. She returned and found a spring (*bibula*) bubbling out of the ground ; it is now called Udupitiya Bibula and the *vīla* (stream) Uduvīla.

Maliya Deva Rahat went to India and brought back four gold Buddhas and gave them to Kotmale Passulpiti Vihāre (said to be an inscription here) in the time of Walagam Bāhu. They were then distributed to Kotmale Vihāre, Didenipota Vihāre, Mādamula Vihāre (N. of Kandy) and one here.

High Priest Walpitigama Sangharakkhita Ratnapāla. Malwatte. One shoulder.

The *Rasavāhini* mentions the village and Bibulu drop.

They think Dutthagāmini built the *dāgaba*.

They have only traditions (*mukha paramparāva*).

The *pīlma-ge* of the gold Buddha is two-storied. In the room below sleeps a priest as guard. Above on a table in a wooden cupboard is the gold Buddha (1' 6½" to top of *sirisa* and 1' 3" from knee to knee). He sits on a bronze stand with a bronze *makara torana* of splendid work. *Dhvāna mudra*.

1. Monument built over his remains.

2. It is difficult to say where Mr. Ayrton found this Pali form. Geiger's edition of the Pali text has *Nakulanagāṇṇikāyama* and Hardy's copy from the Cambodian *Mahāvamsa* MS has *Nakulanagare tasmim Kannikajenapade vare*. Sumangala and Batuwanatudave's editions, however, has *Nakulanagarakkhāyama* which still differs from Mr. Ayrton's.

On S. wall of Vihāre is a raised standing Buddha.

On W. " " " seated "

On S. of doorway " " standing Vishnu

On N. " " " " Kattragam.

Painted over N. doorway is Buddha seated and Māra's legions.

Painted on each side of N. doorway are (on W.) Agore, a terrible demon, and Sujawataka (on E.) It is said that a wicked man passing through the door would drop dead (self and assistant got through safely). Over E. door is painted Maitreya.

Kattragam has peacock + naga in mouth as *vāhana*. Left hand holds a cock on two fingers. Right hand palm out open.

Two old pillars used as boundaries of channel &c. in the fields.

Cycled on to Tangalla Rest House in the afternoon.

On the way to Tangalle passed through

### NAKULUGAMUWA,

a large village on the side of a big inlet, the Maweli Kalappu, in Giruwa Pattu. This is probably the later capital of this district in 14th century, Maha Nāgakula of the *Mahāvansa*.

*Mahāvansa* XXIII 77: Under Duttagamini (in Rohana): "In the district of *Nakulanaga* in the village of Mahisadonika there lived Abhaya's last son, named Deva, endowed with great strength." (The Pali says *Nakalanagarakkhāsam*.)<sup>1</sup>

*Mah*: LVIII. 39. Vijaya Báhu was in Rohana whilst Cola ruled North Ceylon. And Vijaya Báhu "went up by degrees and abode in the city called *Mahánágakula*" and abode there getting an army against Cola.

*Mah*: LX. 57. Vijaya Báhu appoints a son to rule over all Rohana and he makes *Mahánágakula* his seat in the South.

*Mah*: LXI. After death of Vijaya Báhu, Mánabharana, the sub-king of Jaya Báhu, conquers the S. country, puts Kirttisriméggha in charge of the Dvādasasahassaka Ratta (Giruwá Pattu) "and commanded him to dwell there, whereupon Kirttisriméggha went thither and dwelt in the city of *Mahánágasula*."

*Mah*: LXIII. 4: Sirivallabha goes to *Mahánágakula* and rules there.

*Mah*: LXXV. 21: Parākrama Báhu sends an army to Southern Province "and commanded them that they should make the city of *Mahánágakula*, wherein the former kings had dwelt, the chief city of the country; and they got ready a great army and departed, eager for the fight."

It is noteworthy that the General on reaching Digháli (Dikwella) turned North to subdue that country before attacking *Mahánágakula* where the opposing General was.

Later, "according to the commands of our master we have taken *Mahánágakula*." The place is mentioned throughout this chapter.

*Mah*: XXXIII. 37: "A young Brahman named Tissa, in Rohana, in the city (that was the seat) of his clan."

Geiger says: "I read '*Kulanagare*' and understand by this Mahágāma, the town from which the dynasty of Duttahagāmini came.

The Pali has: *Nakulagare*.

I see in both these the *Nakulanaga* or *Mahanagakula* = *Nakulagamuwa*.

The readings are as follows:

Geiger XXXIII. 37. Pali.

Rohaṇe kulanagare eko brāhmaṇaceṭako.

Tisso náma . . . . .

Geiger gives as another reading *Nakulanagare*.

Sumangala and Batuwantudave : Pali XXXIII. 37.

Rohana nakulanagare eko brāhmaṇaceṭako

Tiso náma . . . . .

Turnour (p. 135) : "A certain brahman, prince of the city of *Nakula* in Róhana. . . ."

The prince is corrected by Wijesinghe to "youth."

But cf. Muller (p. 51. No. 99) where he identifies *Mahalanagara* of the *Mah.* p. 142 with Nayinnawella Vihāre 1½ m. s. of Bibile, on strength of an old inscription giving the name Nakala Vihāre.

But present Sinhalese name is Muhunnaru, or Múnaru (cf. *Mah.* 68, 48.)

16-3-14 : Went to the remains of

### GIRIBANDU VIHÁRE,

between Tangalle Gaol (Dutch Fort) and the sea.

There is now left only a raised (6 ft.) platform of earth in the centre of which a small Bo-tree has been planted. It is said that Mr. Campbell excavated here and handed over some objects to the Kudá Vihāre priests. But it is only the *Maluwa* of the Dágaba that remains.

In an Ola Sannas dated 24 Feb., 1774 (Registered, Tangalle 1060/11-9-69), now in the possession of Polammáruwe Piyaratana of Vanavása Kudá Vihāre, Tangalle, the date of the building of the *dágaba* is given as 240 Saka (= 318 A. D.) by King Mini-Kimhe (K. S. Méghavanna ?) The Ola describes the *dágaba* as 120 cubits in circumference and 60 cubits in height and adds that repairs done to it at a later period cost 5793 *patagás* (This is a *Sannas* granted by the Governor of Tangalle, a Dutch official.)

Further at the Kudá Vihāre is copy of a long petition on ola addressed by the monks of Giribandu to the Wásala Mahá Dissáwe of Tangalle saying that in 1774 the Dissáwe had given a *Sannas* defining their land, and that they had given permission to the Dutch to erect tents on this land, how the Dutch soldiers were worrying them and they asked for a grant of land somewhere else, and the return of the 5793 pieces of silver which they had spent on the Vihāre in the last 7 years. Apparently they left the place and it was levelled by the Dutch, who thus secured a better view across the harbour for their fort.

On the day when this petition was sent in it was exactly 2,300 years since Mini Kimhe had founded the Vihāre.

Giribandu is supposed to be the *Girikandu Vihāre* of the *Mahāvansa* (ch. LX. V. 61), the *Pújávaliya* and *Culabodhivamsaya*, p. 36. Went to

### GALGODA VIHARE

on the Danketiya road.

Small uninteresting Vihāre on two platforms cut in side of hill. On the top of the hill to the west is Veheragodella, now a trig. station. Nothing to be seen, a few scraps of brick.

Went to

### RANKOT MALU DÁGABA.

2m. along Danketiya Road. High Priest appointed 1891. Sumangala Therunnanse, Malwatta, one shoulder. No inscriptions ; supposed to be very old. Dágaba restored 55 years ago. There are some short stone pillars near the Vihára.

At present the images are only 3 copper and one wooden Buddhas, app. 1' 6" high in a cupboard in the priest's house.

Went to the

### VANAVÁSA KUDÁ VIHÁRE (Polommáruwa.)

The Dágaba and the 2 Bo-trees are said to have been built by Devánampiya Tissa.

Several old *olas* with Dutch grants (see Girikanda Viháre). The priest . . . . is H. P. of several Viháres. The present High Priest of Adam's Peak came from here.

The priest Piyaratana says that he found many things in the small mound by the *dágaba*, but he only produced a green *karañduwa*, which has certainly been dug up, an ivory which he said had been dug up and cleaned, and a bronze ; but whether these are from Girikanda Vihára or here he is uncertain. Also produced numerous bronze Buddhas said to have been dug up. He seemed very suspicious and disinclined to show them.

17-3-14 : Plan made and photos taken of the Vanavása Kudá Viháre ; the priest says it is mentioned in *Mahāvansa* and *Culabodhivansa* (?)

18-3-14. . . . . Went to Matara in afternoon. . . . . went on to Galle.

19-3-14. . . . . To Anurádhapura.

20-3-14. }  
24-3-14. } At Anurádhapura  
25-3-14. }

26-3-14. To Topavewa

27-3-14. At „

28-3-14. To Anurádhapura

29-3-14. To Matara . . . To Tangalla, carts to Katuwana.

30-3-14. To Walasmulla for breakfast (bicycle, good road, metalled). On at 2-30 p.m. to Katuwana (10m). past carts still going at 3 p.m. 4 p.m. from K. Very bad road, sandy in parts and ungravelled. Reached K. at 5 p.m. Small G. A's bungalow, no furniture. Carts arrived at 6. p.m.

(To be Continued.)

## Notes & Queries.

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### GLIMPSES OF CEYLON IN DUTCH TIMES.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired).

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THERE appeared in the December (1920) number of *Blackwood's Magazine* a paper by Lieut.-General Sir J. Spencer Ewart, K.C.B., giving an account of the career of a Colonel Edward Hamilton who was in the service of the East India Company from 1755 to 1776. This account is based on a memoir dictated by the Colonel to his wife in 1814.

In this memoir he mentions two involuntary visits paid by him to Ceylon, the first to Galle in 1755 and the second to Colombo about twelve years later. Of the first of these some details are given which have an interest for us in Ceylon; the second is merely mentioned as an episode that occurred on one of his voyages. What a pity that the Colonel did not keep a diary, and had to rely solely on his memory; the most trivial incidents or descriptions in connection with these two flying visits would have been a welcome addition to our knowledge of Ceylon in Dutch times.

The following is a verbatim extract from the memoir kindly sent to me by Sir Spencer Ewart. It is rather fuller than the passage relating to the 1755 episode given in *Blackwood*—

"When near Ceylon in the *Salisbury* we experienced a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning, which so shattered our foremast that Captain Knowles made signals of distress, which were answered by another signal from Admiral Watson to make for the nearest port, —which was Point de Galle. We procured a Dutch pilot, but he positively refused to conduct us into the harbour without a previous order from the Dutch Governor. There was no time for that ceremony, so the Captain ordered a rope about the pilot's neck; by that means obliging him to save us. The Dutch seeing our motions fired upon us, which was immediately returned by our taking aim at the Flag Staff upon the Fort, to such good purpose that one of our balls reached the room where the Governor and other officers were at dinner. The flag disappeared and one of our officers was ordered to go ashore, but again the dilemma regarding language occurred and again I was nominated ambassador and was again fortunate that everything we desired was granted and all the officers were invited to a Ball in the evening, where I met with some very pretty ladies, as fond of dancing as myself."

By "the Governor" is doubtless meant the Commandeur of Galle. Who he was I am unable just now to say, but Mr. R. G. Anthonisz can supply the information. Colonel Hamilton was at this time 22 years of age and a midshipman in the Navy. He had been brought up in Switzerland which accounts for his knowledge of other languages than his own. He probably knew French and German. He joined the East-India Company soon after his arrival in India. The *Cumberland* was on her voyage to Bombay and had called at Madeira (where perhaps he had acted as "ambassador") and Madagascar. In the Madras Presidency he made

the acquaintance of Mrs. Draper-Sterne's "Eliza," who was very good to him. Her husband was Secretary of the Presidency. Hamilton's regiment was the Bombay European Regiment, in later times the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Dublin Fusiliers. Captain Knowles, as Sir Spencer Ewart remarks, was certainly "a man of action."

The other episode is very briefly referred to. It happened on his voyage from Bombay to Calcutta *circa* 1767. "During that voyage I was nearly cast away upon the Island of Ceylon, got into Columba and went through more perils between the Island and the Main. Unfortunately he does not tell us what he did or saw at "Columba," nor the name of the ship nor of the Captain, nor what the perils were that he escaped. One can only again regret that the Colonel did not keep a diary.

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## ANCIENT RUINS AT KUBUKKANDANA.<sup>1</sup>

By W. T. SOUTHORN, C.C.S.

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**19-3-14:** I had come here to see the ancient ruins on the rock at Kubukkandana<sup>2</sup> and they proved most interesting, being still practically untouched, and give one an idea of what Anurádhapura was before it was cleared. The ruins seem to be those of some three *Dágabas* with the *Pansalas* attached to them. No doubt they have been visited and described before, but I could not hear locally of any visit by Europeans since Mr Moysey's day until a Matale planter visited them last year.

As you ascend the rock you come to the ruins of a *Dágaba* on the right, and to the left is a fine *Gal-ge* with Drip-ledge—now obviously used as a place for drying the meat of illicitly shot game. There are several cut stones lying about near the cave and a broken image of Buddha carved in a very friable stone. Leaving the cave on the right one reaches a flight of steps cut in the rock and, just beyond that, the remains of a *Dágaba* with some very rough stone pillars.

Close to this is a long inscription cut in much weathered stone—about 9 feet long by 2 feet 6 inches broad. Immediately beyond are bricks and cut stones. On this mound too were a *Mutuporuwa* and the foundations of a wall running N.E.—S.W. to a building which appears to have had four rows of pillars with four in each row—possibly more. Several pillars are still standing. To the East there are many bricks—two uncarved moonstones and other remains.

Returning to the main rock I ascended the rock steps which run N. E. from close by the inscription to what I presume was a fair-sized *Dágaba* in ruins on the top. Just beyond the *Dágaba* was a pool with a carved cobra, also a newer looking *Dágaba*, obviously rifled at some period but with a portion of fine brick moulding remaining in existence. There was another small pool near the edge of the plateau. The rock is curiously almost half surrounded by a semi-circle of similar but smaller rocks. My guides knew of no ruins on them.

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1. This note represents an extract from the Diary of W. T. Southorn Esq., C.C.S., Assistant Government Agent, Matale, for 19th March, 1914.

2. Kubukkandana is situated in Matale East about 3 miles west of the Mahaweliganga.



## CURIOUS PAPERS.

BY S. G. P.

**D**URING the Uva Rebellion of 1817-18, when the British troops were scouring the country in pursuit of rebels, Lieut. Tulloch came upon the family of the "Arch Rebel" Keppitipola "in a jungle near Narangamme" on 16 October, 1818. His mother, wife, two sons, and a brother were taken with the "baggage" of Keppitipola, who was himself taken and executed a month later. In the baggage were "several curious papers," "among them

1. The Treaty of Alliance proposed by Mr. Robert Andrews to the King of Kandy.
2. A letter from the French Admiral Suffrein, and
3. The original letter from Lord Macartney sent from Madras by Mr. Hugh Boyd and dated October 13, 1781." *Ceylon Gazette*, 24, October, 1818.

Keppitipola had other things also besides papers. He had the deposed King's crown and sword and wearing apparel; and his brother-in-law-Ehelépolá "handed over to the English the late King's crown, sword, and wearing apparel which he found concealed in the possession of Keppitipola Dissava and a villager." (Pohath-Kehelpannala, *Ehalapola*, p. 34.)

Does any body know whether these "curious papers" are still extant? Such interesting documents falling into the hands of a British officer on a military expedition are, if anything, likely to be preserved; unless perhaps some high official with a historical turn of mind took them with him for a keepsake on retirement or presented them to the British Museum. Such a case "involving the honour of a whilom Chief Justice and a Colonial Secretary" is on record. (Cf. *Journal C.B.R.A.S.* 62, pp 260, 271). Have these curious papers suffered a like fate? If they did they are sure to be better preserved than by the local Government, and certainly more accessible.

The Treaty of Alliance referred to is probably the one signed at Fort St. George and brought back by Andrews, on his second journey, to be signed by the King of Kandy. It is given in Andrews' *Journal* recently published (*Journal C.B.R.A.S.* 70, pt. 3, pp. 115-117.)

The letter of Suffrein has, I think, never come to light.<sup>1</sup> But the letter of Lord Macartney has been preserved by the Dutch. Among the Dutch Records of the Government was found a copy of this letter along with a Dutch translation. Mr. H.C.P. Bell published it in the *Ceylon Literary Register* IV, pp. 132-3. It was there supposed "probable that on the capture of Mr. Boyd by the French these papers fell into the hands of the Dutch Government." (*ib.* p. 125). But Boyd was captured on the high seas. A packet, which he threw overboard, was rescued by the Frenchman, and sent to Amsterdam (*Asiatic Annual Register*, 1799). The Diaries of both Boyd and Andrews are now published, the latter so far back as 1799. A French *Ambassade de M. Hughes Boyd* (Paris, 1803) was published from a German translation, to a second hand copy of which we might here give a free advertisement: "*Boyd H. Gesandtschaftsreise nach Ceylon, M. histor-statistischen Nachrichten v. dieser Insel u. dem Leben des Verfass, hrsg. v. L. D. Campbell. Aus d. Engl. Hamburg 1802*" 2 m. Katalog 490, No. 396, Hiersemann, Leipzig. 1921.

1. The circumstances that led to the French and English correspondence with the King of Kandy are well known. See *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, V. 180 and sqq.

GENERAL HAY MACDOWALL<sup>1</sup>

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired).

MAJOR M. L. Ferrar, late 19th Regiment, Editor of the *Green Howards' Gazette*, has kindly furnished me with some further information about General Hay Macdowall. He writes :—

"He is shown in the Army List for 1786 as the Major and 2nd in Command of the 2nd Battalion, 42nd Foot, the date of his appointment being 24 March, 1784. The regiment was then serving in the East Indies. In the quotation on page 182 it is said he commanded the detachment of the 42nd and 78th. As he then would be senior Captain of the 2nd Battalion of the 42nd, this is only natural, his being promoted two years later Major in the same Regiment. The 78th never had anything to do with the 42nd. They are mixed up continually with the 72nd and were joined together as the Seaforth Highlanders in 1831. . . Sir Thomas Maitland was in the 78th.

"This 2nd Battalion of the 42nd was embodied at Perth on 21st March, 1780, as the 2nd Battalion of the 42nd, and in 1786 was constituted a separate corps as the 73rd Foot, being the third, or more correctly, the fourth corps to succeed to that number. Its predecessors were (1) a 2nd Battalion of the 34th Foot raised in 1756 and soon after formed into the 73rd, which after a few years service in Ireland was disbanded at the peace of 1763. Then for a brief space (2) the 116th (Invalids), one of the several Invalid Corps raised during the latter part of the Seven Years War, figured as the 73rd (Invalids). It was soon reduced. Then came (3) the Highland Corps, known afterwards as the Highland Light Infantry, raised as the 73rd in 1777, which bore the number until 1786 when it became the 71st. This 73rd raised in 1780 reverted to its old position as 2nd Battalion of the 42nd in July, 1881, when the Territorial Scheme came into force."

The Rev. F. Penny informs me that "the commercial firm of Macdowall and Co. was founded by one of the family. The firm used to keep in order the tomb of General Macdowall (1834) in the St. Mary's Burial Ground at Fort St. George, when I was Garrison Chaplain, and probably do so still." (The General Macdowall here referred to is the son of General Hay Macdowall who was with his father in Ceylon as A.D.C.)

In Dodwell and Miles's *List of Madras Army Officers* "Lieutenant Colonel Francis Capper" is stated to have been "lost in the *Lady Jane Dundas*" in 1809, and as General Hay Macdowall and he in all probability would have arranged to voyage in the same East Indiaman, I think it likely now that the former's ship was the *Lady Jane Dundas* and not the *Jane Duchess of Gordon*. The date of the wreck of both vessels is given in the same book as "14th March, 1809."

Other officers lost were—

In the *Lady Jane Dundas* . . . . Second Lieutenant John Brookesbank.

Lieutenant G. Bradley.

Engineers.

Captain George Bellingham.

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1. (*Ceylon Antiquary*. Vol. V, pp. 180-8 Vol. VI. pp I-6.)

In the *Jane Duchess of Gordon*. Lieutenant Henry David.  
 Lieutenant James Duff.  
 Lieutenant Isaac Manders.  
 Lieutenant John Dalyell.  
 2nd Lieutenant James Fell.  
 Captain George Wilson.  
 Captain Thomas Young.

With reference to note 19 on page 182, the spelling used by the family at the present day and in the Army List of 1786 is "Macdowall," which seems conclusive.

"FORT MACDOWALL" at Matale was called after General Hay Macdowall, but the name of the place is almost forgotten as is the name of the General.

This same note, by the by, supplies information which serves to correct my surmise on page 2 of Vol. V. of the *Ceylon Antiquary*, that Macdowall was fifteen years of age when he joined the Army. Cunat (see note 2 on page 180) says that he was 26 when at Trincomalee in 1782. This makes his age when appointed to an Ensigncy seventeen, and 1756 the year of his birth 1756. So that he was 54 at the time of his death. He was never "Sir Hay Macdowall."

I take this opportunity of acknowledging the interest and value of "S. G. P.'s" paper on "French Expeditions against Trincomalee."

**Major-Gen. A. Macdowall.**—In my paper on General Hay Macdowall in Vol. VI. Part I. of the *Ceylon Antiquary*, I spoke of Captain, afterwards Major General, A. Macdowall as being the son of General Hay Macdowall, and I suppose I must have seen him referred to somewhere as such either in Percival or Cordiner or some other book or record dealing with the earliest period of British rule.

But it seems that this cannot have been the case if the following is the younger General's record according to Buckland's *Indian Biography* (abridged.)

**Lieut. General Sir Andrew Macdowall.** Entered the East India Company's service, Madras Establishment, 1783 ; at the siege and capture of Pondicherry, 1783, and the reduction of many of Tippoo's forts ; served in the defence of the Raja of Travancore's lines, 1789 ; in the force under Cornwallis and Medows at Seringapatam, 1791-2 ; at Malavilla and capture of Seringapatam, 1799 ; in the defence of the ceded country, 1801-3 ; commanded a brigade under Sir T. Haslop at Mahidpur in 1817 ; commanded a detachment in Khandesh and took many forts, 1818 ; C.B. ; K.C.B., 1831 ; died 31st May, 1835.

As General Hay Macdowall was born in 1756, and if General Andrew Macdowall was, say, 14 when he joined the E.I.C. Army in 1783, he was born in 1769, when the former was only 13. It is however possible that the General whose record is given above was another A. Macdowall and not the Captain A Macdowall who was with General Hay Macdowall on his embassy to Kandy in 1800. The alternative is that this General Andrew was a brother and not the son of General Hay Macdowall.

It should be noted in this connection that the record allows the possibility of his having been in Ceylon in 1800—between the capture of Seringapatam and his service in "the ceded country" 1801-3.

Buckland, I think, erroneously gives the year of his death as "1835" instead of 1834.

It is much to be wished that some Indian correspondent of the *Ceylon Antiquary* would enlighten us on these points. Is it anywhere definitely stated that A. was the son of Hay or is it a hallucination on my part ? I have no means just now of referring to the books mentioned.

## CAPTAIN CHAMPION.

By T. PETCH.

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**I**N manuscript notes on the history of botany in Ceylon, compiled by Trimen, there are the following entries :

*Champion, Captain J.G.* 95th Regiment: killed at Inkermann, 1854; in Ceylon 1838-1847; to Hongkong in 1847; in Hongkong 1847-50.

"Rough notes on Ceylon scenery and observations on the Banyan tree," Hooker's *Journal of Botany*, III (1841), p. 282.

"Remarks on the state of botany in Ceylon." 1844. Dated 29 May, 1843. Appended to Ondaatje's first Report on the Royal Botanic Garden for 1843.

Letter to the Colonial Secretary on Moon's herbarium, dated 5 June 1844, added to Gardner's Report on the Royal Botanic Garden, May-August, 1844, appendix III.

First lived at Kandy, then at Galle. Botanised with Gardner about Galle in Dec. 1844. Gave a "small but valuable collection" of Ceylon plants to the herbarium in Ondaatje's time. Sent to Wight between 600 and 700 species from the interior and Galle. *Championia* Gardn.

Boulger in his historical account of Ceylon botany gives the name as J. G. Champion, no doubt following Trimen. No initials are given in the paper, "Remarks on the present state of botany in Ceylon," published in 1844. But in Hooker's *London Journal of Botany* (1841), the author of "Rough notes on Ceylon scenery" which was written in 1839, is said to be Captain William Champion; and Sir W. J. Hooker, the editor, prefaced the article with "The following notes on Ceylon scenery and vegetation were made during our friend's very brief stay in that most interesting island." Hooker, therefore, wrote as if Champion had already left Ceylon.

Were these two Captains Champion in Ceylon between 1838 and 1844? The letter of 1844 to the Colonial Secretary is signed J. G. Champion, and the same initials are given in the Biographical Index of British and Irish Botanists.



## BOOKS ON CEYLON.

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THE EDITOR,

*Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register.*

SIR,

WITH reference to "Biblio's" communication on the above subject and your note thereon, appearing in the *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. VI, Part III, p. 159, I have much pleasure in forwarding herewith for publication in the Journal a list of books omitted by "Biblio."

Yours truly,

D. P. E. HETTIARACHCHI.

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# Literary Register.

## THE KANDYAN PENSIONERS OR THE LAST SCIONS OF SINHALESE ROYALTY.

(Continued from Vol. VI, Pt. IV, Page 241.)

### CORRESPONDENCE REGARDING THE CONDITION OF THOSE RESIDING IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

*Government of Madras.—Political Department.*

READ again G.O. dated 20th March, 1893, No. 156, Political.

*Abstract.*—Communicating to the Government Agent, Tanjore, and the Collectors of North Arcot and Madura, for report, letter from the Ceylon Government requesting to be furnished with certain information desired by Lord Ripon regarding Kandyen Pensioners.

READ also the following papers :—

From J. HEWETSON, Esq., Acting Collector of North Arcot, to the CHIEF SECRETARY to Government, dated Kávérippákkam, 5th June, 1893, No. 550-In.

With reference to G. O. No. 156, Political, dated 20th March, 1893, I have the honour to report as follows :—

2. At present there are only two Kandyen pensioners in this district, one named Doraisami Raja and the other **Venkatasami Raja**. The former is the grandson of Kandasami Raja and grand-nephew of Muthusami Raja, and is in receipt of a monthly pension of Rs. 26-8-8, sanctioned in G. O. No. 665, Political, dated 6th October, 1858. He is now aged about sixty years. He possesses dry lands about four cawnies in Kondama Nayadu Poliem of Naraganti zemindari. He has no house of his own, the one in which he is now living having been obtained on mortgage on payment of Rs. 150. The mortgage deed is in the name of his fourth son. He is not well off, and his income is not sufficient to meet the demands of his large family. He has

1st son, Venugopal Raja, aged about 40 years.	
2nd son, Kandasami Raja, ..	32 ..
3rd son, Venkatasami Raja ..	30 ..
4th son, Ramaiya Raja, ..	11 ..

four sons, whose names are given in the margin.

The first and fourth are living with their father at Greampet in Chittoor. The former, being a sickly man remains idle at home. He has got a son named

Baja Raja and two daughters. Baja Raja and the

fourth son, No. 4 Ramaiya Raja, are reading in the third class in the Local Fund School at Chittoor. The former is reported to be regular in attendance, but the latter is not. Both of

them are, however, said to be intelligent. The second son, Kandasami Raja, leads an idle life in Mysore, receiving a monthly allowance of Rs. 3 from his father. None of these is reported to be fit to hold appointments under Government.

3. As regards the other pensioner, Venkatasami Raja, he is the third son of the first-named pensioner Doraisami Raja. He has been adopted by the late Kandyan pensioner Venkatasubbarayulu Raja. He is in receipt of a monthly pension of Rs. 36-6-6, sanctioned in G. O. No. 632, dated 29th September, 1875. He has been residing at Narasingarayanipet of Naraganti zemindari for the last two years. He possesses about 14 cawnies of land, dry and wet, in the villages of Atmakúru and Kondamanayanipoliam and derives an income of about Rs. 120 per annum, exclusive of Government kist. Besides these, he owns two thatched houses at Narasingarayanipet worth about Rs. 50. He knows English, Telugu, and Tamil, and is leading a quiet life. He has three sons, aged about 10, 8, and 1 year respectively. The first two are reading in the Narasingarayanipet Local Fund School.

4. Besides these two pensioners, there is one Govindarajulu. He is the son of one Mulla, a servant of the ex-king of Kandy, and as such is in receipt of a monthly stipend of Rs. 6-10-8, sanctioned in G.O. No. 377, dated 8th October, 1872. He owns also some lands, measuring 1.36 acre, in Satupoliam village in Vellore. He has two sons and a daughter; the elder son, aged about 5 years, is reading in a village school.

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From H. M. WINTERBOTHAM, Esq., Acting Government Agent, Tanjore, to the CHIEF SECRETARY to Government, dated Vallam, 2nd July, 1893, No. 5.

With reference to G. O. dated 20th March, 1893, No. 156, Political, I have the honour to enclose a statement affording information regarding the existing number of Kandyan pensioners residing in the Tanjore district, with particulars regarding their families.

2. The Auditor-General's list No. 1. of 1871 shows that there were then in this district 29 pensioners (20 males and 9 females). The number of wives, children, and dependents, so far as stated, was 88, but this was obviously only a fraction of the total.

3. No. 8, Doraisami Raja, is now in Madura, and draws his pension there. Savitri Devi's name is twice entered—*vide* Nos. 7 and 31. No. 27, Kuppamal, is no longer traceable, and is presumably deceased. Nos. 26, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 44, and 46 commuted their pensions, and I have not been able to trace them. I could no doubt do so if more time be allowed and if any inquiry be deemed expedient. Deducting the above 13, there remain 16. Eight of these are still alive and drawing their pensions, and eight have been succeeded by their heirs. The identity of these 16 will be apparent on a reference to the enclosed statement. No. 29 in list II. of the Auditor-General was transferred to list No. I. Six new names have come on the list by transfer from other districts, bringing up the present total to 23.

4. Of the 23 existing pensioners, 12 males and 7 females reside in Tanjore town, 1 male in Tiruválúr, and 3 males in Negapatam.

5. The description of the miserable condition of the pensioners as depicted in 1871 can be in no way softened at the present date. Their circumstances (with two exceptions) have undergone no change for the better, while in the case of 11 families their allowances have been reduced by one-half or two thirds. The two exceptions above referred to are the following:—

Venkatasami Raja, No. 20 on the Auditor-General's list, is practising as a first-Grade Pleader at Negapatam, and is assessed to income tax on an income of Rs. 1,200. He is an elected



Municipal Councillor and an Honorary Magistrate. He has a large family, and is heavily burdened by dependents and debts.

Tayasimmala (properly Tyâgasimhala Raja), No. 6 in the Auditor-General's list, holds the office of Sub-Registrar—a post that brings him in about Rs. 95 a month. He is overwhelmed in debt and would be bankrupt but for the wise forbearance of his creditors. This gentleman was educated at St. Peter's College, Tanjore, at the cost of the Ceylon Government, and is now 37 years of age. In response to his appeal for the liquidation of his debts, the Ceylon Government has recently sanctioned the appointment of a tutor on Rs. 30 for his three small sons—*Vide* correspondence ending with G.O. dated 1st June, 1893, No. 345.

The other adult members of the pensioned families have neither the desire nor the ability to discover a means of livelihood, and although the younger members have had good educational opportunities at St. Peter's College, Tanjore, and the Wesleyan Mission College, Negapatam, I regret to say that there is not one of them who has yet succeeded in qualifying himself by examination for Government employment. Their attendance at school is generally irregular and their progress unsatisfactory. They would say, I suppose, that it is ill studying on an empty stomach, and that chill penury repressed their noble rage and froze the genial current of the soul. The younger members are quite unfit for the long hours of clerical drudgery that fall to the lot of the clerks in our Taluk, Divisional, and Huzur Offices, and in the Revenue Department there are no sinecures left where incompetence can be tolerated, nor am I able to point to any of them whose bodily strength, industry, and force of character give promise of making up for a want of book-learning. Of those at school, several are of tender years, and may develop talents which are as yet hidden.

6. As to their amalgamating with the general population, I see little prospect of it. They profess to belong to the Kshatriya caste, and do not intermarry beyond the limits of their own circle.

7. It is not, as I understand, necessary to refer in this report to the numerous individuals specified in the Auditor-General's list No. II. who were allowed to commute their pensions. I will merely say that most of them are living as hangers-on upon the pensioners, whose distress is aggravated by the necessity (real or supposed) of supporting them. So far as I have been able to ascertain, only four of them have found work of a sort—one is a copyist in the Negapatam Sea Customs Office, one is a painter, and one a fitter's cooly in the railway workshops, Negapatam, and the fourth is a railway cooly.

8. I am unable to suggest any way of improving the condition of these unhappy people other than the obvious one of increasing their pecuniary allowances.

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From the Hon. the COLONIAL SECRETARY, Colombo, to the CHIEF SECRETARY to the Government of Madras, dated Colombo, 21st June, 1893.

*Education of Children of the Kandyan Pensioners.*

ADVERTING to your letter, Political Mis. No. 258, of the 1st May, 1893, on the above subject, I am directed by the Lieutenant-Governor of Ceylon to state that his attention having been directed to the question of the education of these children, His Excellency will be glad that they should, if this be feasible, be provided with a better education His Excellency

would wish that they should be given every educational advantage possible for people of their class to obtain within reason, and I am to state that any additional cost which His Excellency the Governor of Madras in Council considers to be properly incurred for this purpose will be gladly defrayed.

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From H. M. WINTERBOTHAM, Esq., Acting Collector and Government Agent, Tanjore, to the  
CHIEF SECRETARY to Government, dated Vallam, 6th August, 1893, No. 36.

WITH reference to the endorsement from Government dated 5th July, 1893, No. 1,173, I have the honour to state that a list of the children of the Kandyan pensioners who are of a school-going age—i.e., between the ages of 6 and 19—was submitted to Government with my letter dated 6th July, 1893, No. 5. It will be seen from this list that there are in all 19 boys, of whom 11 are in Tanjore, 3 in Tiruválúr, and 5 in Negapatam. Of the 11 lads in Tanjore, I have personally seen and talked to 8. I have already reported in my letter quoted above the unsatisfactory state of their educational progress. For their irregular attendance they assign various reasons : e.g. (1) the distance of the college from their homes—they cannot walk and have no carriage; (2) the interval of one hour in the middle of the day does not admit of their returning home for food—they thus lose their dinner; (3) they have not enough to eat and have no proper clothes; (4) bad health. All of these excuses are more or less plausible. I have talked over the matter with the Rev. W. H. Blake, Principal of the College, but have not been able to devise any means of promoting their education. The college offers them as good tuition and training as can be reasonably required, and the difficulties that stand in their way all ultimately spring from the poverty of their parents or guardians, want of industry, or natural inaptitude.

2. As regards the three children at Tiruválúr, the Government of Ceylon recently sanctioned the entertainment of a tutor\* on Rs. 30 a month; but here again there are difficulties in the way which I did not foresee. Their father, M.R.Ry. P. Tyagasimhala Raja, has represented to me that he has not even a vacant pial where the children and the tutor can sit, and he urges the difficulty of one man attending to three boys of such different ages that each requires quite a separate course of study. He greatly prefers that his sons should continue to attend the high school at Tiruválúr, and desires that they should receive the help of a tutor in preparing their lessons at home. For this he requires a schoolroom, a certain amount of furniture, and a lamp. I think probably the best arrangement would be to allow the boys to continue to attend the high school and to engage one of the teachers of the high school to act as private tutor to the boys out of school hours. Rs. 15 would be an ample remuneration, and Rs. 15 would thus remain available for renting a suitable schoolroom, furnishing it, and meeting school fees and sundry expenses. I should be glad if Government would sanction this arrangement as an experiment.

3. The boys at Negapatam are the sons and grandsons of M.R.Ry. Venkatasami Raja, referred to in paragraph 5 of my letter dated 6th July, 1893, No. 5. Their father has a good income, and the Wesleyan College offers as good an education as they could desire. They do not take advantage of their opportunities, and I see no way in which any additional facilities can be afforded them.

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\* Vide G.O. dated 1st June 1883, No. 345.

From J. STURROCK, Esq., Acting Government Agent, Tanjore, to the CHIEF SECRETARY to Government, dated Vallam, 9th October, 1893, No. 76.

WITH reference to Government memorandum No. 1,720, dated 27th September, 1893, I have the honour to state that the Auditor-General's list referred to in my predecessor's letter No. 5, dated 2nd July, 1893, is the "amended list" received with G. O. No. 449, dated 17th December, 1872.

2. The enclosures of the memorandum under reference are returned.

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From T. W. RAWLINS, Esq., Accountant-General, to the CHIEF SECRETARY to Government, dated Fort St. George, 16th October, 1893, No. I.A.D., 683.

WITH reference to your memorandum No. 1,721, dated the 27th September 1893, I have the honour to state that the Collectors' letters referred to contain the names of all the Kandyan pensioners who draw their pensions in this Presidency.

2. I might add that the pensioner Doraisami Raja, referred to in paragraph 2 of the letter from the Collector of North Arcot, died on 28th May, 1893,

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ORDER dated 14th November, 1893, No. 763, Political :—

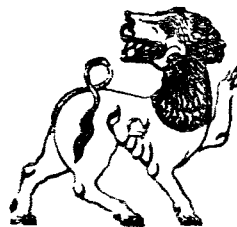
The Ceylon Government will be addressed.

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(True extract.)

J. FREDERICK PRICE,

Chief Secretary.



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# The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register.

## CONTENTS:

Vol. VII, PART II, OCTOBER, 1921.

### ARTICLES.

	PAGE
VI. THE EARLY HISTORY OF BOTANIC GARDENS IN CEYLON By T. PETCH ... ..	63
VII. HEGEL'S PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION. By W. T. STACE, C.C.S. ...	74
VIII. SOME ANCIENT PLANTS AND TREES OF CEYLON ( <i>Continued</i> ) By JOHN M. SENAVERATNA, F.R.H.S. ... ..	90
IX. SINHALESE AND THE ARYAN LANGUAGES. By M. H. KANTAWALA, C.C.S. ... ..	105
X. KANDYAN NOTES ( <i>Continued</i> ). By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired)...	108

### NOTES AND QUERIES.

7. ALEXANDER OSWALD BRODIE. By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired) ...	114
8. THE FIRST CATHOLIC BISHOP OF CEYLON APPOINTED AT THE INSTANCE OF THE CEYLON GOVERNMENT. By S. G. P. ...	115
9. NOTES ON THE MAHÁVANSA ( <i>Continued</i> ): KING VASABHA'S QUEEN: TWO ANECDOTES. By JOHN M. SENAVERATNA, F.R.H.S. ... ..	116
10. SOME RUINS IN JAFFNA. By REV. S. GNANA PRAKASAR, O.M.I. ...	118
11. EARLY BRITISH TIMES. By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired) ...	121
12. BOOKS ON CEYLON. By ARTHUR A. PERERA ... ..	122

### LITERARY REGISTER.

THE KANDYAN PENSIONERS, OR THE LAST SCIONS OF SINHALESE ROYALTY. ( <i>Continued</i> ). ... ..	127
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# The Ceylon Antiquary

and

## Literary Register.

Published Quarterly.

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Vol. VII.

October, 1921.

Part II.

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### THE EARLY HISTORY OF BOTANIC GARDENS IN CEYLON.

By T. PETCH.

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THE available data relating to alleged Botanic Gardens in Ceylon prior to 1810 have been discussed in a previous number of this Journal; the known facts point to the conclusion that no Botanic Garden existed before that date. In the present paper it is proposed to continue the investigation up to the time of the establishment of the Royal Botanic Garden at Peradeniya. The evidence to hand is meagre, but it is possible that more might be found in the Government Archives if any one had the time to go through them.

Tennent, after stating (most probably in error) that the first Botanic Garden was established by North at Ortafula in 1799, wrote

"In 1810 it was transferred to a portion of Slave Island which hence acquired the name of Kew, and in 1813 it was again removed to Caltura, where Moon, the author of the first English Catalogue of Ceylon Plants, was Superintendent, and under him the present gardens were eventually laid out at Peradeniya."

Trimen, in the fourth edition of his *Hand-Guide to the Royal Botanic Gardens, Peradeniya* (1894), gave the following account:—

"But it was not until 1810 that Sir Joseph Banks, President, Royal Society, suggested and drew up a plan for a proper Botanical Garden in Ceylon. The site chosen was again in Slave Island, Colombo, and is still known as Kew. This powerful patron of botany also secured the transference from Canton of Mr. W. Kerr, who was appointed 'Resident Superintendent and Chief Gardener.' He arrived in 1812 and was placed in charge of the private King's House Garden in Colombo, and of seven acres in Slave Island. (Footnote by Trimen,—Kerr brought with him several plants from China. In 1813 he ascended Adam's Peak). The latter, however, was soon found to be liable to floods and too limited in extent, and in 1813 the Government, who had

acquired possession of an unsuccessful sugar estate of 600 acres near Kalutara, removed thither the botanical establishment; the smaller garden in Colombo itself was, however, still maintained. The next year, in November, 1814, Mr. Kerr died.

"Mr. Alexander Moon was selected by Sir J. Banks as Kerr's successor in 1816, and entered upon his duties, at the very good salary of £512 per annum, in the following year. He was a capable and energetic man and devoted to his work. It was during his rule that the Gardens were, in 1821, moved to the present site at Peradeniya, and to him we owe their first planning out, the making of roads, and the transference from Kalutara of such plants as could be moved. At first only the south-west portion of the ground was cleared and opened up: it was mostly planted with coffee and cinnamon."

Willis (*Annals Peradeniya*, 1, pp. 3, 4) followed Trimen's account fairly closely. He stated:—

"In 1810, Sir Joseph Banks, then President of the Royal Society, was instrumental in causing the opening," etc. . . . . "In 1813 the garden was moved to Kalutara, the Colombo site having been found too subject to flooding. The Government had resumed possession of an unsuccessful sugar estate of 600 acres at Ugalboda, on the left bank of the river, and on this the garden was reopened" . . . . . "Moon transferred to Peradeniya all the plants that could be moved from Kalutara, and laid out the south-eastern part of the ground, planting especially coffee and cinnamon."

In the foregoing accounts, the credit of prime mover in the matter of the establishment of a Botanic Garden in Ceylon is awarded to Sir Joseph Banks. But in the *Colombo Journal*, January 30, 1833, it is stated that "The late Lord Liverpool, on the suggestion of Sir Alexander Johnston, established a Royal Botanical Garden in Ceylon in 1811," and that statement was taken from the *Transactions* of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, III, App. 1, p. XIII. It would appear probable, therefore, that Sir Alexander Johnstone, who went home in 1809, approached the Earl of Liverpool on the subject, and the latter, naturally, consulted Sir Joseph Banks. The date of the despatch ordering the establishment of a Botanic Garden and appointing Kerr as Superintendent is June 5th, 1810.

Sir Joseph Banks had previously written to Kerr, who was then at Canton, under date April 23rd, 1810, as follows:—

"Government has just proposed to give in a Plan<sup>1</sup> for the establishment of a Botanic Garden in the Island of Ceylon. It is intended to be put upon a liberal footing. The salary I propose for the Superintendent is £300 a year. If this is agreed to and the place appears to be such as will enable a man to procure a decent sufficiency in his youth to make his advanced years comfortable, I mean to recommend you as a proper Person for the appointment.

I am always your  
assured good friend

JOS. BANKS."

He followed that with another letter to Kerr, dated January 15th, 1811:

"Concluding that you have left China for Ceylon and are now settled in the Botanic Garden there, I merely write this in the case of any unforeseen accident having disconcerted the arrangements I made for you, I do not remit your salary because I am unaware of the time when you entered into the service of Ceylon: as soon as I can hear the particulars I will settle the account with you. In the meantime I am sure my friend Sir Geo. Staunton will, if anything has delayed your departure from China, make any advance of money which may be found necessary.

Your sure friend,

JOS. BANKS."

1. "Plan" is evidently used in the sense then current of project or scheme: it does not imply that Sir Joseph Banks attempted the impossible task of planning the Ceylon garden in the modern sense.

But nothing happened. Apparently no Garden was opened in Ceylon, and Kerr did not receive any official intimation of his appointment. Probably being tired of waiting, Kerr laid the letters before the "Select Committee for Supra Cargoes at Canton," and that body despatched him to Ceylon *via* Bengal. In their letter to the Government of Bengal, (November 25th, 1811) they stated that they were not in possession of any advices on the subject from the Government of Ceylon, and if his services were not required in Ceylon or India he was to return to his former post, that of His Majesty's Botanical Gardener at Canton. Kerr took with him to Bengal a valuable collection of China plants, likely to be acceptable in India, previous attempts to transmit such having been generally unsuccessful for want of proper care.

On March 25th, 1812, the Government of Bengal wrote to inform the Ceylon Government that Kerr had arrived there, and enclosed copies of the letters quoted above.<sup>2</sup> The Ceylon reply (June 2nd, 1812) is not available, but before it had reached Fort William, Kerr had sailed for Ceylon on board the country ship *Sulimany* which left in the month of May. When Kerr arrived in Ceylon is not known. He had not arrived by June 2nd.

The following notice, which may have been a shadow of a coming event, appeared in the *Government Gazette* of June 10th, 1812, as a Government advertisement:—

"It being deemed expedient by His Excellency the Governor to form a Register of the Lands in Slave Island, directions have been given to the Collector of Customs for that purpose.

"All Persons having or claiming Title to Landed Property situate in that Quarter are therefore requested to produce the Title Deeds on which their right may be founded to Mr. D'Oyley as soon as possible, who, being required to specify in the Register all necessary particulars, will grant his Receipts for the Documents so produced until he may be able to return them.

"There being reason to believe that the Lands in question were originally granted by the Dutch Government on conditions calculated to prevent obstruction to the Defences of the Garrison, His Excellency calls the attention of Proprietors to the particular observance of such conditions. 5th June, 1812."

The above would appear to be in contradiction to the statement that the Dutch had a garden on Slave Island which was sold by the British.

The first notice of Kerr appeared in the *Government Gazette* of August 11th, 1812,—

"His Majesty having signified his pleasure that a Royal Botanic Garden be established in the Island of Ceylon, His Majesty has been pleased to appoint Mr. Wm. Kerr to be Resident Superintendent and Chief Gardener of His Majesty's said Royal Botanic Garden as communicated in the Earl of Liverpool's letter to the Right Hon'ble Lieutenant General Maitland, dated the 5th of June, 1810."

We may assume, therefore, that Kerr was definitely appointed on August 11th, 1812, and that the Botanic Garden on Slave Island was established about that time. It has not been possible to discover any official record of its institution, nor to verify the statement that its extent was seven acres.

Lewis (*Ceylon in Early British Times*) records that the bachelors of the 4th Ceylon Regiment gave a ball at the Government House in the Royal Botanic Gardens at Slave Island on June 30th, 1814. The Garden probably included Kew Point, on which was situated the Masonic Lodge built by the Dutch, and the latter may have been the Government House in question.

2. Government Archives, Vol. 439.

Kerr died at Colombo in 1814. The notice of his death appeared in the *Government Gazette* of November 30th, 1814, without date : apparently it was November 27th. The administration accounts of his estate are in the Government Archives, and he is there described as William Kerr of Caltura. The Accounts include payments to "The constable to watch the house of the deceased on the Slave Island," appraisement fees for goods found at Colombo and Caltura and charges for transporting those found at the latter place to Colombo, payment for securing his goods from November 27th until the time of sale, etc. From some of the items it would appear that the administrator charged Kerr's estate with expenditure which properly should have been debited to the accounts of the Botanic Gardens. That, however, was a minor detail. His representatives in England were no doubt glad to get what they could, for the proceeds of the estate were not paid over until 1828 (or later).<sup>3</sup> It would seem doubtful whether Kerr lived in the Government House in the Botanic Gardens, as rent appears to have been paid to private individuals for keeping his furniture.

Before parting with Kerr, it may be noted that there is no record that he brought plants from China to Ceylon ; his commission was to convey them to Bengal. Nor is it probable that he ascended Adam's Peak in 1813 : indeed, when the state of the interior of the island at the date is considered, such a journey must appear impossible. In this connection it may be recorded that very little is known of the collecting tours of the earlier Superintendents of Botanic Gardens, and statements such as the one in question are usually intelligent deductions from herbarium sheets. If, for example, Kerr's herbarium contained a plant labelled "Negombo, 1812," it would be taken as evidence that he had visited that locality in that year. That conclusion, however, does not follow, for the plant may have been sent to him. That plants were sent from Adam's Peak to Colombo is evident from the Diary of Mr. John D'Oyley, where, under date March 18th, 1812, he records that Ehelepola sent him a basket containing twelve species of plants from Siripada, and gives their native names. It is quite possible that the plants sent to D'Oyley were preserved and handed over to Kerr.

As far as the records show, the post of Superintendent remained vacant after Kerr's death until the arrival of Alexander Moon in 1817. Moon's obituary notice in the *Government Gazette*, May 7th, 1825, states that he was a Kew gardener, recommended to Sir Joseph Banks as a successor to Kerr by Aiton, who was then in charge of the Royal Gardens at Kew.

Moon was appointed on the recommendation of Banks by the Earl of Bathurst, the despatch being dated June 1st, 1816. The appointment, however, was to date from January 1st, and he was given an advance of a half year's salary, apparently in England. But he does not appear to have come to Ceylon direct from England. In the *Government Gazette* of March 22nd, 1817, it is announced that the Government Brig *Kandyen* had arrived at Colombo from Trincomalee and Galle, and the name of A. Moon appears in the list of passengers. In the Galle news, his name appears as having come from Trincomalee, but it is not in the list of those who sailed from Trincomalee. One is at a loss to understand how he was precipitated upon the vessel between Trincomalee and Galle, but Mr. F. Lewis has suggested to me the probable explanation, viz., that the *Kandyen* came down from India, and Moon being a through passenger his name is not entered in the list of those who embarked at Trincomalee. Moon took up Kerr's work, though there could scarcely have been much to succeed to, and, after a lapse of two and a half years,

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3. Government Archives, Colombo.

what little Kerr had been able to do during his brief tenure of office must have been well nigh obliterated. But we have very few records relative to Moon's work in connection with the Colombo garden.

We are no doubt on safe ground in accepting the tradition that the first Royal Botanic Garden was established on Slave Island in 1812. But it was not "transferred" to Kalutara. Kerr apparently lived in Colombo, and so did Moon: and the obituary notice of the latter (*loc. cit.*) states that "the beautiful plantations at Slave Island, until they were given up on the change of the establishment, exhibited his taste and industry in their full power." Moon's duties, as defined in the Blue Book for 1821 (which was, of course, compiled in 1822) include "the charge of the Royal Botanic Gardens of Peradenia near Kandy and Slave Island near Colombo, of the Government Gardens in the Fort of Colombo and on the North Esplanade." The letter from the Deputy Secretary to Government, December 27th, 1821, approving of the selection of Peradeniya, states: "I shall hereafter inform you to whom the Garden in Slave Island is to be delivered over" (Kandy Archives.)

Evidently Trimen was correct in stating that the Slave Island garden was maintained until the garden at Peradeniya had been opened. The date of its abandonment has not been ascertained. An advertisement in the *Government Gazette* of June 13th, 1822, announced that "The sale of the late Botanical Gardens, Slave Island, is postponed until Monday, 8th July next." Heber, who visited Ceylon in 1825, did not mention a Botanic Garden in his references to Slave Island.

No official records have been found, relating to the establishment of a garden at Kalutara. It was evidently opened in the time of Kerr, as he is described (*loc. cit.*) as "William Kerr of Caltura," and some of his effects were at Kalutara when he died. The first published reference to it is in the *Ceylon Almanac* for 1819, where the staff of the Royal Botanic Garden includes a clerk at Caltura. The *Almanac* for 1820 contains the same entry, but in 1821 the post at Caltura is that of overseer, which was held by A. McDonald. But the latter name does not appear in the Blue Book for 1821, nor is there any mention there of any expenditure on a garden at Kalutara. The Deputy Secretary's letter of December 27th, 1821, already referred to, states:

"I am desired to request you will put yourself in communication with the Collector of Caltura, whom I shall address on the subject, and arrange for delivering over to his charge the garden there, at the same time considering what portion thereof it may be necessary to sell, as the Garden at Peradenia will hereafter be the principal receptacle for that description of Exotics for which the Establishment at Caltura was intended."

The Garden at Kalutara was apparently supplementary to the Garden at Colombo, and it is perhaps permissible to suppose that it was opened for the reception of economic plants which could be cultivated there on a larger scale than was possible on Slave Island.

The records at Peradeniya throw very little light on the subject. In 1833 Watson was authorised to remove plants from "the Rock Garden at Kalutara" to Peradeniya. In June 1841, cart hire was paid for removing plants from Kalutara to Peradeniya; and in August, 1843, Ondaatje, who was then in charge of the Peradeniya Gardens, visited "the garden at Kalutara" to obtain plants and seeds.



Trimen stated that the Government acquired an unsuccessful sugar estate near Kalutara, and Willis added that it was at Ugalboda on the left bank of the river. Ugalboda, however, is in Kalutara North, i.e. on the right bank, at some distance from the river, and local tradition places the garden on that side. An advertisement in the *Government Gazette* of November 22nd, 1834, offered for sale the rent of the Government Botanical Garden, Pinnegoddewatte, in Caltura.

The reasons which prompted the removal of the Botanic Gardens to Peradeniya are more or less a matter of conjecture. Sir Edward Barnes, then Lieutenant Governor, had come to the conclusion that the ground on Slave Island was unsuitable for a Botanic Garden. In a letter to Moon, dated October 4th, 1820, in which the Superintendent of the Botanic Garden was called to account for having incurred expenditure without sanction, Mr. William Granville, the Deputy Secretary, wrote :

"The Lieutenant Governor has lastly directed me in the most particular manner to remark upon one of the other charges now brought forward by you, and which, if any proof were necessary to convince him of the ineligibility of the ground in Slave Island selected for a Botanical Garden, would at once determine him upon that point. The charge alluded to is for the transportation of soil to the Garden."

This, however, merely indicates that the Lieutenant Governor was seeking some excuse to remove the garden elsewhere. Every Botanic Garden imports soil at some time or other.

In November, 1821, Moon was instructed "to select a proper spot near Kandy for a Botanical Garden." and the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of the Kandyan Provinces was directed to afford him every facility (November 24th, 1821.) On December 11th of the same year, Moon sent in a report recommending Peradeniya as a site for the Garden, and this proposal was sanctioned by letter of December 27th, 1821.

Moon's report, a copy of which is in the Kandy Archives, is as follows :—

"I have the honour to report my having explored the neighbourhood in every direction, and I am of opinion that the site of the late Kandian King's Garden at Peradenia is better adapted than any other place for the proposed Botanic Establishment, particularly as Captain Dawson of the Royal Engineers has had the goodness to ascertain that a fine stream of running water may be conveyed over the greatest portion of the arable land, the soil of which is a fat tenacious earth slightly mixed on the surface with vegetable mould, the hills are composed of gravelly Kabooc, which will also be found useful in the covering of walks as well as suitable to the nature of some plants; and limestone is also to be had at a short distance from the Garden."

"There are already a number of fruit and Forest Trees, common to the Island, dispersed all over the grounds, which will afford immediate shade and shelter to the more tender Exotic and Indigenous Plants on their introduction, and it is sufficiently spacious to admit of an extended Botanical arrangement, including Experimental Horticulture in general."

The remainder of the report deals with the schedule of the fixed establishment and the probable labour available.

The letter accepting the above proposal is dated December 27th, 1821, and is addressed to the Superintendent, Botanical Garden, Colombo.

"Sir, I have had the honour of submitting to the Lieutenant Governor your letter of the 11th instant with its enclosure, and I am now to signify the Lieutenant Governor's sanction of the Principal Royal Botanic Garden being at Peradenia, which Garden the Board of Commissioners will be instructed to make over to you and to afford you every aid in procuring extra workmen when particularly required, either those attached to the garden or otherwise.

"I now enclose the schedule of the Fixed Establishment of your Department for the year 1822, framed on that suggested by yourself, and I am desired to request you will put yourself in communication with the Collector of Caltura, whom I shall address on the subject, and arrange for delivering over to his charge the garden there, at the same time considering what portion thereof it may be necessary to sell, as the Garden at Peradenia will hereafter be the principal receptacle of that description of Exotics for which the Establishment at Caltura was intended."

"I shall hereafter inform you to whom the Garden in Slave Island is to be delivered over.

"The Board of Commissioners will consider in concurrence with you of the best means of supplying you with a place of residence in the precincts of the Gardens, and will frame an estimate of the expense of constructing a Bungalow for you on the principle of that lately fitted up for the Lieutenant Governor, Lath and Plaster covered with olas, and which will last for several years."

I have the honour to be

G. LUSIGNAN,

Deputy Secy. to Government.

Another letter of the same date written by Lusignan, as Secretary for the Kandyan Provinces, to the Board of Commissioners in Kandy, requests :—

"That the most efficient aid be afforded to Mr. Moon towards establishing the principal Royal Botanic Garden in Ceylon at Peradenia, which is to be given up to him. Mr. Moon mentions there being some private property in the angles of the Garden, for which it would be advisable to exchange other Crown Lands, on which subject enquiry and report must be made. In respect to a residence for Mr. Moon, the Lieutenant Governor thinks that two rooms of 30 feet<sup>4</sup> in length, with a verandah round and two detached bedrooms with a kitchen, two servants' rooms and temporary stabling may easily be built at no great expense and will last as long as the uprights are not destroyed by white ants."

At a meeting of the Board of Commissioners held on January 26th, 1822, the Revenue Commissioner submitted the results of his enquiries on the subject of certain private gardens in the angles of the Royal Botanic Garden at Peradenia in the following report :—

"There are four Gardens all situated on the East Side, viz., (1) Agala Kotuwewatte, Extent 1 Ammunam 2 Pelah of Paddy, containing 20 Coconut, 13 Jak, 34 Kekuna, and some coffee and fruit trees. This Garden belongs to the Dalada Maligawa and supplies it annually with 24 measures of oil which can hereafter be furnished by Government. It is in charge of two Gamaheys, who have Paddy Fields for their services. It has no inhabitants.

"(2nd) Kandewatte. Extent 1 Ammunam 2 Pelah of Paddy, containing 15 Coconut, 4 Jak, and 14 Kekuna trees. This Garden belongs to Natha Dewale, and is possessed and inhabited by Kandewatte Appu, who enjoys the produce thereof and performs the services of Umbrella bearer at the Festival of Maha Parahera as well as of supplying milk to the Dewale. In exchange for this Garden

4. Those were spacious days.

it is proposed to give the Government Garden Atuwagawatte at Wellatte (adjoining Peradenia) in extent 1 Pelah, containing 27 Coconut, 6 Jak, 2 Kekuna, 11 Kitul, and 75 Coffee trees, but as this Garden usually furnished the Dalada Maligawa with 30 Coconuts annually, the same in future can be supplied by Government from Peradenia.

"(3) Udowatte and ) These belong to the Ukku-Rala

"(4) Karandagahawatte) Vidane of Peradenia. The extent of the former is 12 Kornies of Paddy and contains 1 coconut, 4 Jak, and 4 Kekuna trees. The extent of the latter is 13 Kornies and contains 20 Kekuna and 150 coffee trees. In exchange for these, the Government Garden Atuwagawawatte in Peradenia may be given. It is 3 Pelah in extent and contains 30 coconut, 5 Jak, 1 Kitul, and 150 Coffee Trees.

"In order to insure the due collection of the Revenue from the Gardens about to be given up to Mr. Moon, it is suggested in communication with that Gentleman that the collection be made by him and that he should be at liberty to dispose of as much of the fruit as he could, the rest being sent for to be sold in Kandy by the Revenue Commissioner.

"The extent of Peradenia is 75 Ammunams, and contains 800 Coconut, 244 Jak, 13 Del, 33 Kitul, 740 Coffee, 77 Pepper Vines, and 178 Cardamom plants, besides some Areka and other fruit trees.

"The Revenue Commissioner would also remark that, as from the great extent of these Gardens it is possible Mr. Moon will not require the whole for his purpose, their value to Government must be increased by appropriating any such part to the planting of coffee."

"The Parties concerned in the exchange of these Gardens are well satisfied with the arrangement, and the 1st Adikar, Principal of the Maligawa, has given his consent to the proposal respecting Agalakotuawatte."

"With respect to the House directed to be built for the residence of Mr. Moon, the Revenue Commissioner informs the Board, that there is in Peradenia, the Ruins of an ancient Palace not far distant from the spot that will probably be selected for Mr. Moon's House; and as this is to be a permanent Establishment, it appears advisable that Government should avail itself of the Stones to be found on these Ruins for building the house or pillars only, the intermediate spaces to be built up with a wall of single brick. The expense would be compensated by the durability of such a building.

"The Board concurs in opinion with respect to the Exchanges and other arrangements submitted by the Revenue Commissioner for acquiring possession of the Private Gardens situated in the angles of the Royal Garden at Peradenia, it appearing that they will be satisfactory to all the Parties interested.

A letter from G. Lusignan, Secretary, Kandyan Provinces, dated Colombo, 16th February, 1822, informed the Board that the measures proposed for acquiring the pieces of land in the vicinity of Peradenia were sanctioned, and that Mr. Moon would be instructed to—

"realise as much Revenue as possible from the Garden and to apply as much of it as possibly can be applied to the growth of Coffee."

"For this purpose, however, and also for the other duties of the Garden, it will be necessary you should consider and report how he is to be furnished with labourers at a cheap rate."

A letter to Moon, of the same date, states :—

"I am now to signify the Governor's particular wish that you should give your attention to the objects of realising as much Revenue from the Garden at Peradenia and accounting for the same to the Revenue Commissioner and also to the growth of Coffee which His Excellency has particularly at heart to see increased throughout the Island."

Moon appears to have been still in Colombo in February, 1822. The appointment of an overseer and foreman for Peradeniya was sanctioned on February 8th. He was in Kandy in June, and apparently had to live in Kandy, pending the erection of a residence at Peradeniya, until the following year. He seems to have had difficulty in obtaining labour for the Gardens, and in July, 1822, he applied for "Caffres discharged from the Second Ceylon Regiment" for the service of the Botanic Garden.

The available evidence appears to show that the Botanic Garden at Peradeniya was not instituted before February, 1822. In January of that year, the land was still "about to be given up." It may be noted that in 1850, Thwaites, when compiling a report on the state of knowledge of the natural history of Ceylon for the Secretary of State, wrote that the Botanic Garden was transferred to Peradeniya in 1822.

Two factors may have influenced the removal of the Botanic Garden to the Kandy District. As described by de Bussche,

"All European vegetables thrive in the Kandyan territory in the highest perfection, and in such abundance throughout the whole year, that green peas, potatoes, cabbages, turnips, carrots, etc., etc., are sent daily to Colombo, where such vegetables were seldom seen before, and never in the market" (p. 79.)

The expectation of obtaining a constant supply of fresh vegetables may have weighed in the decision.

The other circumstance was the fact that coffee grew "wild" in the Kandy district and was believed to be indigenous (de Bussche, p. 88). The Governor of that time had expressed his desire that the cultivation of coffee should be extended, and it is probable that the Botanic Garden was removed to Peradeniya, in preference to Kalutara, in order that the cultivation of coffee might be promoted.

Moon was expressly instructed to devote his attention to coffee. It does not, however, appear that the Botanic Gardens were planted up with coffee to any great extent. From 1823 to 1828, Government lands adjoining the Gardens were opened up in coffee to the extent of about 120 acres. These were offered for sale in 1832. The first advertisement of the sale appeared in the *Colombo Journal* of February 4th of that year, and full particulars were given in the issue of February 8th, as follows.

"Notice is hereby given that the undermentioned Government Coffee Plantations in the neighbourhood of the Botanical Gardens at Peradenia near Kandy will be put up to sale by auction at the office of the Commissioner of Revenue at 12 o'clock on Monday the sixteenth of April, next, viz.

"A piece of ground in extent 6 acres planted in 1823 with 4200 plants,

"A piece of ground in extent 4 ac. 3 roods 24 perches planted in 1824 with 3325 plants,

"A piece of ground in extent 7 ac. 1 rood planted in 1826 with 5075 plants,

"A piece of ground in extent 5 acres planted in 1826 with 3500 plants,

"A piece of ground in extent 77 acres 3 roods 4 perches planted in 1824 and 1826 with 54,425 plants,

"A piece of ground in extent 2 acres planted in 1826 and 1828 with 1400 plants

"A piece of ground in extent 17 acres 2 roods 19 perches planted in 1826 with 12337 plants,

"A piece of ground in extent 1 acre planted in 1828 with 700 plants.

"Persons desirous of obtaining information on this subject will apply to the Deputy Secretary to Government, at whose office a Plan of the property is deposited."

The sale was evidently postponed, the property being advertised again in the *Colombo Journal* of June 6th, 1832.

The plan referred to does not appear to be in existence now. In the Peradeniya files there is a copy of a letter from the Superintendent of that time, Wm. Watson, to the Deputy Secretary, dated May 1st, 1832, on the subject of this sale. In it, Watson stated that he was given to understand that the Paddy fields were to be sold separate or together with the Coffee Plantations, and requested that some of the paddy fields and also the Race course might be reserved for the benefit of the Government bullocks and elephants attached to the Botanic Gardens. He also suggested that the river and canal, which were cut to supply the Botanic Gardens with water, should be reserved solely for the Botanic Gardens, as the water supply was barely sufficient, and if the paddy fields were sold and the purchasers allowed to take the water, the Gardens would suffer.

It may be deduced from Watson's letter that the coffee plantations which were to be sold were situated round the Racecourse on the South side of the Kandy road, and this is in part established by the earliest known plan of the Botanic Gardens.

Though it is not the intention of the present article to trace the subsequent history of the Peradeniya garden, one or two facts may be noted which modify the accounts quoted.

(1) The first part of the garden to be opened was the south east corner, as stated by Willis; it is curious that Trimen should have written "south-west," as that corner remained waste land until opened by him in 1880-81.

(2) Plants were transferred from Kalutara to Peradeniya by successive Superintendents, at least up to 1843.

(3) Moon died three years after the garden had been transferred to Peradeniya, and it is improbable that any extensive laying out had been accomplished during that time; the river drive on the West side of the Gardens was formed partly under Gardner in 1844-45, and partly under Thwaites in 1858, while the drive on the East side was completed by Thwaites about 1860.

(4) The report of the Revenue Commissioner will show that, although Peradeniya was previously the Kandyan King's garden, it was not a garden in the European sense of the term, and the plants it contained were, as stated by Moon, common to the Island.

The first official survey of the Peradeniya garden appears to be that made in 1843. There is, however, an earlier plan in existence, though it is doubtful how far this was the result of an actual survey. This plan is now in the Library of the Royal Horticultural Society in London, where it is bound up in a folio volume with paintings of Ceylon plants, etc. The volume begins with a page of sketches in colour of Sinhalese, etc., in their national or official costumes, next comes the plan of the Royal Botanic Gardens; and this is followed by botanical drawings. The plan of the Gardens is not dated but the drawings bear the date 1828. The Superintendent in 1828 was James Macrae, who collected especially orchids which were described by Lindley. It is probable that the volume in question was sent home with his effects, after his death in 1830. In any case, it came into Lindley's hands, and subsequently passed with the Lindley Library into the possession of the Royal Horticultural Society.

The plan shows the Racecourse, and the watercourse which was cut across it to supply the Gardens with water. On the Kandy side of the Racecourse, the land is shown as planted up in coffee, and coffee also covered the South East angle of the Gardens, where the bungalows of the foremen, etc., now stand. The Kandy-Colombo road runs straight past the gate of the Gardens to the river, where the lake is at the present time. The ferry, however, is marked

as situated higher up the river,—which disposes of the theory that the present lake is the old ferry-boat dock. A lake of fair size is marked on the plan, to the north of the Kandy - Colombo road, almost in the position of the present lake, but if the Kandy - Colombo road was really straight as shown, it is not easy to imagine how a lake could be squeezed in between the road and the hill to the north of it. A road runs along the river bank right round the Gardens, and careful examination of the plan reveals the fact that this circular road joins the main Kandy-Colombo road at either corner: hence it would appear probable that this represents a road which was in existence prior to the establishment of the Botanic Gardens. No other roads or paths are shown within the Gardens. Two dotted lines have later been ruled in ink (the rest of the plan is in colour) from the gates down the centre of the Gardens, to indicate a central drive, but these have been subsequently erased.

Although the plan shows that the Gardens had not been laid out to any extent at the time it was made, there does not appear to be any reason to doubt that its date is about 1828. Since the land had been taken over, sufficient time had elapsed to permit of the erection of the Superintendent's bungalow, the construction of the watercourse from Hantane, and the planting of coffee on land adjacent to the Gardens. As the earliest planting of coffee was 1823, the plan is certainly later than that date. That the accompanying paintings of plants are dated is peculiar, since the earlier paintings executed by the draughtsman of the establishment do not bear any date. From the style of the drawings, however, it would appear that they were not done by the draughtsman, but by Macrae, and that is why they are now in London. Similarly, there is in the library of the British Museum (Natural History), a volume of paintings of Ceylon plants, all dated 1823, which are attributed, no doubt correctly, to Moon. The earliest dated drawing in the Peradeniya collection is 1839.



## HEGEL'S PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.

By W T STACE, C.C.S

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**I**N the April number of the *Ceylon Antiquary* I gave a short account of Hegel's Philosophy of Fine Art. A similar account of his Philosophy of Religion may be found of interest. The following article is, it must be remembered, only the barest outline of the essential points; as will be seen by the fact, for example, that Hegel's forty pages on the Egyptian religion get reduced here to a few paragraphs !

What is the aim of a Philosophy of Religion ? It may be useful to point out, in the first place, what its aim is *not*. It is *not* its aim to produce a history of religion, or to give information about the religions of the world. These facts about the various religions are assumed to be already known. Its aim is to ascertain the *significance* of these known facts, to extricate the essential core of philosophical truth which each religion contains, to strip off the drapery of myth and symbol which in all religions clothes the truth, and to lay this inner truth bare to the view. Secondly, it seeks to exhibit the development of religion as a rational development of the world-spirit. A *rational* development is a *logical* development. Consequently it arranges the various religions, not in their historical order, but in their logical order, beginning with the poorest and emptiest, showing how its very emptiness necessitates further development until, at the end, we reach the richest religion of all. At the same time the historical order is also, to some extent, the same as the logical order.

Thus the Philosophy of Religion is not to be criticised on the ground that it is not a history of religions. Neither is it to be criticised for having little or nothing in common with the modern science of comparative religion. Here again its object is different. Comparative religion merely compares the different phases of religion, and sees how they have developed historically. It is not, in itself, concerned with the *truth* and the *value* of the religions. But the Philosophy of Religion is concerned above all with the question of the truth of religions. To show the essential rationality of religion is its main object

### Section I.

#### *Religion in General.*

There are three forms under which the Absolute is apprehended by the human mind, viz., art, religion, and philosophy. The *content* of all three is the same, viz., the Absolute. They only differ in form. Art apprehends the Absolute in a *sensuous* form, i.e. as a beautiful object of sense. Philosophy apprehends the Absolute in a *rational* form, i.e. it apprehends the Absolute as what it is, pure thought. Religion apprehends the Absolute in an intermediate way which is partly sensuous and partly rational. This form under which, in religion, the Absolute appears to the human mind is called *Vorstellung*, which we may translate picture-thinking, pictorial or figurative thought.

A *Vorstellung* is to be distinguished from a mere mental picture or image (*Bild*). I may conjure up a mental picture of my mother's face. Such an image is purely sensuous ; it is

an image of this single particular sense-object. It has no element of universality, no element of thought, about it. It is entirely individual. But a *Vorstellung*, though it is certainly pictorial, always has a universal significance. It is a pure thought or universal, clothed however in sensuous imagery. It is the figurative bodying forth of some rational truth. Thus the popular idea of the creation of the world is a *Vorstellung*. The philosophical truth for which it stands is that the Idea puts itself forth into externality and otherness and becomes the world. Truly understood, this is not an act or event in time but an eternal or timeless process of the Idea. It appears in philosophy as the transition from Logic to Nature. But popular thought conceives this truth as an event which *happened*. The Idea is here called God. And God, at some unascertainable date in the past, "created" the world. This is a *Vorstellung* because it represents a universal thought but represents it in a sensuous form. To "create" is an image borrowed from the technical and mechanical operations of man. And it represents the origin of the world as happening *in time*, i.e. in one of the forms of externality in which the sensuous appears.

Again the persons of the Godhead are represented as Father and Son. Obviously the relationship of Father and Son is a purely sensuous relationship which cannot possibly be taken in strict literalness here. It is, however, the finite relationship which most nearly corresponds to the truth. The truth for which it stands is the differentiation of the moments of the Notion within itself. The Universal, i.e. the Father, puts forth the Particular, i.e. the Son, from itself. The Incarnation, i.e. the idea of the God-man, is a *Vorstellung* which stands for the central truth of all religion, namely, the unity of God and man, the fact that it is spirit which is the Absolute. The popular idea of God as a person is itself a *Vorstellung* which stands for the truth that the Absolute is spirit, that the highest category is, as shown in the Logic, not cause, or mechanism, or even life, but personality, self-consciousness, or, as Hegel calls it, the Absolute Idea.

The defect of art was that it represented the Absolute simply as *this* sense-object. In romantic art this was partly corrected inasmuch as that type of art involved a complete retirement of spirit into its own sphere. But the form adopted in the highest romantic art, poetry, namely the mental image, though it was inward and subjective and no longer an actual outward sense-object, was still entirely lacking in the essence of spirit, universality. It was still this single mental picture. The *Vorstellung* is, like the mental image, purely inward, but is in addition a definite step towards the universality of thought. It is in this respect that religion constitutes an advance upon art, and, at least proximately, solves the contradiction immanent in art.

Figurative thought of the kind which is contained in the various religions of the world is the highest kind of thinking of which the masses of men are capable. Pure abstract thought is beyond them. The truth, therefore, has to appear to the masses in the popular form of religion instead of the pure form of philosophy. The question of the truth of any religion, therefore, is to be determined by whether or not its inner thought-content is found to be true, after its figurative and sensuous form has been stripped off. It is in this sense, for example, that Hegel calls Christianity the one absolutely true religion,—not because its figurative expressions, as of Father and Son, Creation, Heaven, the Fall, etc., can be taken literally, but because the inner meaning and thought-content of these will be found to be identical with the principles of the true philosophy, i.e. the Hegelian philosophy.



The general definition or notion of religion thus is that religion is the manifestation of the Absolute in the form of picture-thought. Every religion, however, possesses essentially three moments, which correspond respectively to the moments of the Notion. These are :—

(a) *The moment of Universality.* This is God, the universal mind.

(b) *The moment of Particularity.* The universal mind of God sunders itself into particularity. Thought in this phase is the finite minds of individual men. The universal mind and the particular mind are, at this point, in a state of separation. God and the human mind stand over against each other as opposites. The human mind is therefore aware of God as its object, and is also aware of its separation and alienation from God. This alienation, this falling away from God, appear as sin and misery.

(c) *The moment of Individuality.* This gives rise to the element of worship, an essential phase of every religion. For individuality is the return of the particular into the universal, the healing of the division which has made its appearance. This means, in the sphere of religion, that the human mind seeks to annihilate its separation and alienation from God, strives to unite itself to Him, to become identical with Him, to be reconciled to Him. This effort is worship.

Thus the essential burthen of all religion is the unity of God and man. It presupposes a sense of separation from God, which renders a reconciliation necessary. This reconciliation consists in the return of the isolated finite mind into identity with God.

It will be seen that this content of religion, the unity of God and man, is precisely the content of Absolute Spirit as such. Spirit becomes absolute when it knows that its object is itself. In the spheres of art, religion, and philosophy, the human mind knows that it is itself all reality, that it is itself the Absolute. This is nothing else than the unity of God and man.

Hegel here enters a strong protest against the identification of his philosophy with Pantheism. Pantheism asserts that every individual object, this stone, this tree, this animal, this man, is God. And its meaning is that these objects are already, as they stand, in all their immediacy and particularity, identical with God. But the Hegelian position is the very opposite of this. This individual human mind, in its immediacy, its particularity, its finiteness, is *not* God. It is precisely because of its immediacy, particularity, and finiteness, that it feels and knows itself as separate from God, as alienated from Him. It is only by renouncing and giving up its particularity that it can enter into union with God. I, as this particular ego, with all my selfish impulses, my foolish whims and caprices, am essentially *not* the universal mind, but only a particular mind. Nevertheless the universal mind is in me, and is my essential core and substance. And the universal mind is none other than the mind of God, who is, therefore, my inner core and essence in so far as I can give up my particularity and rise to the height of the universal. It is not held to be either Pantheism or blasphemy to say that God is in the hearts of good men, and this is the Hegelian position.

## Section 2.

### *Definite Religion.*

Religion exists in the form of the many definite religions of the world. The only religion which completely accords with the notion of religion, as outlined in the last section, is Christianity. For in that the reconciliation of God and man is completely realized. Christianity combines in a fully developed totality all the essential moments of the notion of religion. Nevertheless these moments are found existing in a state of separation in the other religions of the

world. Isolated moments make their appearance in these different religions, which are, consequently, essential phases of the religious Idea. These phases are not chance products, but the Idea develops itself through them dialectically, in advancing stages, until it is finally fully realized in Christianity. These other religions are, therefore, isolated aspects of the truth, which are gathered up into a concrete totality in the Christian religion. They are true, because they are aspects of the truth. They are false, because they are fragmentary, abstract, and one-sided. Whatever truth they possess is summed up and included within the Christian religion.

The evolution of the different religions is, of course, a logical and timeless development. Nevertheless, as in the case of art, an element of time-development may also be found here. The lowest phases of religion are on the whole the earliest.

Since religion in general is a necessary phase in the dialectic development of spirit, it follows, of course, that it is no mere chance that it exists. It is no mere human contrivance. It is a necessary work of reason in the world. It is a genuine, true, and necessary manifestation of the Absolute. All religions are the work of the one reason, the one spirit, whose achievements constitute the "divine governance of the world." It is the Notion itself, one and the same Notion, which produces these religions, however widely separated they may be in place and time.

The three great phases of religion are: (1) Natural Religion. (2) The Religion of Spiritual Individuality, (3) The Absolute religion, i.e. Christianity.

It is a very curious omission on Hegel's part that, although he has numerous scattered references to the religion of Islam, he assigns it no place in his scheme of religions.

### Sub-Section 1.

#### *The Religion of Nature.*

The phrase 'natural religion' is commonly used to characterize that religion to which, it is assumed, reason alone would lead man, without the aid of revelation. Hegel's use of the phrase, however, has nothing at all to do with this. He includes under the head of natural religion all those religions in which spirit has not yet gained the mastery over nature, in which spirit is not yet recognized as supreme and absolute. As soon as the Absolute is conceived as spirit we have passed beyond the religion of Nature. But wherever God, or the Absolute is conceived as anything less than spirit, for example as Substance or Power, in all such cases the spiritual principle in general is not recognized as the creator, ruler, and master of nature, so that such religions regard the human spirit, too, as still within the power of nature. These are natural religions. Natural religion exists first as

#### A.

#### *Immediate Religion, or Magic.*

The developed notion of religion necessarily presupposes that the separation between the universal mind, which is God, and the particular mind, which is man, has already made itself felt in consciousness. The aim of all religion is precisely the bridging of this gulf of separation, the reconciliation of God and man. Where this separation has not yet made itself felt religion proper cannot exist, or can only exist in the crude form of magic. The distinction between God and man is the same as the distinction between the universal and the particular. Hence where the aforesaid separation does not yet exist, the universal is not yet recognized. Everything is particular. There is nothing but this tree, this river, this animal, this man. Hence man does not distinguish himself from nature. He is merely a unit, like any other unit, amid a chaos of particular objects. Nevertheless since the supremacy of spirit must, because it is the

moving force at the back of all spiritual development, force itself in some dim way into consciousness, it appears here as the idea that I, this particular ego, am superior to stones, and rocks, and clouds, and have power over them. By the exertion of my mere will, I can command the clouds, the storms, the waters, and they will obey. This is magic. Magic may be direct or indirect. I may influence nature directly by my will, or indirectly through a charm, as in sympathetic magic. But in either case the principle is the same.

What it is essential to notice at this stage is the following: since there is as yet no distinction drawn between the universal mind and the particular mind, it follows that it is not I, as a rational and universal being, who have power over natural objects. Much less is it I as a moral being. It is this ego in all its particularity and immediateness which can exert power. Power is exerted, therefore, not for any universal end, but purely on behalf of my particular passions, desires, needs or caprices. The force of my passion itself, my quite selfish will, can control nature for my own purposes. Thus although it is true, in a sense, that even here the mastery of spirit over nature is recognized, yet this spirit which controls objects is not conceived as spirit, that is to say, as rational and universal, but only as a mass of particular impulses and passions. These impulses and passions, because they are immediate and particular, not universal, belong to the natural, not to the spiritual side of man. They belong to man, not as a spirit, but as a part of nature. Hence spirit is, after all, not conceived as supreme over nature, but as still part of, and in bondage to, nature.

### B.

#### *The Division of Consciousness within itself.*

##### *The Religion of Substance.*

When the distinction between universal and particular comes to be made, we have the first possibility of genuine religion. Man feels himself to be only this particular empirical consciousness, and over against himself he sets the universal, which thereby becomes objective to him. This is the separation and division which is presupposed in all religion. But this universal which man now conceives as an objective reality is, in the first instance, the purely abstract universal. It is simple universality, destitute of any particularity, void of all content. In other words, it is pure Being. But to this there is added the feeling that all particularity is swallowed up in this pure Being, that the particular empirical consciousness together with all the particulars of nature and the finite world are as a nullity before this universal. This universal is thus the absolute being. All other being is dependent upon it, arises out of it, and again disappears into it. Such an essential being, which produces all finite existences as transitory and unessential modifications of itself, and then again causes them to vanish in itself, is Substance; and these modifications are its Accidents. At this stage, therefore, the essential characteristic of religion is that God is conceived as Substance. Such religion is Pantheism.<sup>1</sup> There are three stages of the religion of Substance, namely, the Chinese religion, Hinduism, and Buddhism.

Certain fundamental characteristics of these religions flow from their determination of God as Substance. In the first place, since the activity of Substance is Power, God

1. Hegel uses the term Pantheism in two distinct senses, (1.) as meaning the doctrine that all particular objects are, as they stand in their crude particularity and immediateness, G. d. This is the sense in which it is used at the end of the first section of this article. (2) Pantheism, in the second sense means the view that God is substance in which all finite particularity is swallowed up. This is Spinozistic Pantheism, as also the Pantheism of the oriental religions here dealt with. Hegel's own doctrine is of course distinguished from this latter Pantheism by the determination that God, the Absolute, is not merely substance, but is Spirit.

is the absolute Power. But the Power of Substance is not yet determined by ends. The teleological conception belongs to the doctrine of the Notion, whereas Substance arises at the stage of Essence. Hence in these religions God is not a wise God, but is blind Power, and the spiritual conception of God as wisdom directing its activities towards the Good, is wholly lacking. Secondly, since here the finite mind, as being merely accidental, is wholly swallowed up in Substance, is a nullity, has no reality, no right of independent existence as against Substance, it is for that reason not free. The human spirit is here still in bondage, and the notion of freedom is lacking. Thirdly, for the same reason, these religions go hand in hand with despotic government in the political sphere. The political institutions of a people always correspond to their religious conceptions. Only with an exalted and spiritual conception of God can there be good laws and good government. Free governments are only for those peoples who possess the religion of freedom, who are free in their innermost consciousness, who know God as free spirit.

The specific grades of the religion of Substance are the following :—

(a) *The Chinese Religion.* Here God is primarily the wholly undifferentiated universal, contentless and empty Being. What corresponds in the material universe to pure Being is Heaven, the sky, emptiness. Heaven, therefore, is here conceived as the absolute, Power,—Heaven under the name T'ien. But, as in the religion of magic, so here too the idea of the supremacy of spirit must needs force its way, however crudely, into human consciousness. But the spirit conceived as supreme is still a particular empirical consciousness, not universal spirit. It is this particular spirit, the Emperor. The Emperor represents Heaven, is Heaven. Religion consists in obeying the edicts of the Emperor. The Emperor is divine and has absolute power on earth. Not only his subjects, but the elements of nature and the spirits of the dead are subject to his power.

(b.) *Hinduism.* In Hinduism the conception of Substance is more explicitly developed. Since Substance is wholly abstract, it is for that reason undetermined, without any differentiation within itself. There is, therefore, only one Substance, for a multiplicity of Substances would involve differentiation. For the same reason this one Substance is formless, for to be undetermined is to be without form. God, therefore, is now the formless One, Brahman. Brahman is abstract unity. As against this One all other existence is unreal, merely accidental. Nothing has any right of independent existence in itself. It arises out of the One, and again vanishes in the One. This is the fully developed conception of Substance and Accident. Though the One may frequently be spoken of in terms which seem to imply personality, yet it is not spirit that is the real content, but only Substance. Such phrases merely imply superficial personification. The One is essentially neuter.

Out of this one Substance, and as its accidents, proceed all beings, all worlds, all men, all gods. But since the One is not concrete in itself, but is completely empty and abstract, all particular things, including the gods, fall outside it. It does not genuinely produce them out of itself and then again restore its own unity by taking them back into itself. It does not produce them, and therefore they simply *are*, that is to say, although it is *asserted* that they have proceeded out of the One, and are therefore dependent beings, yet since the One is abstract and has not itself *produced* them, they are for that reason in reality independent beings. Hence since the unity, the One, does not here retain the multiplicity within its grasp, but rather stands on the one side entirely excluding the multiplicity on the other, therefore this multiplicity of independent beings is a crass multiplicity without unity: a chaos of disconnected

forms. For the element of connection, the unity, abandons these independent beings to their own devices. They are then an uncontrolled, ungoverned, multitude, without order, connection, or reason. They are abandoned to the caprice of imagination. This it is which explains the fantastic chaotic world with which Hindu imagination presents us. And it also explains the fact that Hinduism is a pure monotheism, and is yet at the same time the wildest and maddest of polytheisms. For the One, just because it is entirely contentless and abstract, because it has not its particularisations in itself, lets them fall outside it, lets them escape in uncontrolled confusion. Because it does not retain them within its grasp, they are therefore outside it, independent of it, and riot in this independence.

It is only a superficial philosophy which sees in the Trimurti a genuine prefiguration of the Christian Trinity. No doubt it is true that the Notion, the essential reason at work in the world, is dimly seen in this Indian threefold Godhead. But the conception is, in the Trimurti, entirely undeveloped. If it were to be identified with the Christian Trinity, which is the perfect realization of the Notion in the religious sphere, then the third God, Siva, ought to be the unity of the other two. The three Gods, corresponding to the three moments of the Notion, should be Brahma, the Universal, Vishnu, the particular, and Siva, the individual. Siva, as the individual, should be the unity of the universal and particular, should be the return of the particular into the universal, the reconciliation of the division which the universal had created within itself. But Siva is nothing of the sort. He represents the category of Becoming, mere change. The two sub-categories of Becoming are origination and de cease, and therefore Siva has the twofold aspect of being at once the creator and the destroyer. But the third moment of the Notion, individuality, though it is certainly change, is not *mere* change,—not the infinite progress, the meaningless change of one indifferent thing into another. It is rather the change involved in the passage back from the particular into the universal. Moreover, the three-foldness of the Trimurti does not, as it should, enter into Substance at all. Substance is not, in its own self, three-fold. It is only One. The three Gods are merely three forms, three manifestations of Substance; they lie outside Substance and do not affect its inner nature. This is the same as saying that the Trimurti is not a concrete unity, as the Notion is. The three Gods are not concretely one. They are merely different forms in which the Godhead appears.

The element of worship in Hinduism corresponds to its conception of God. God is here Substance, the undetermined, abstract, contentless, emptiness and vacancy. Now worship means essentially the annulling of the separation between God and man, the reconciliation, the restoring of the unity and identity of God and man. Hence in Hinduism what man has to do in order to become identical with God is to empty himself of all content, to become that very vacancy which God is. Thus the state aimed at is an emotionless, will-less, deedless, pure abstraction of mind, in which all positive content of consciousness is superseded. God is here a pure abstraction, and man, in becoming the same abstraction, becomes identical with God, attains "union with Brahma." Thus worship aims at the complete submergence of consciousness.

In regard to this, two points require notice. Firstly, God, truly conceived, is spirit and spirit is not abstract, but concrete. The essential character of the worship in any religion corresponds everywhere with its conception of God. Hence in the free religions of the world salvation is not attained though this process of mental abstraction, but, on the contrary, through the concrete work of the spirit, through its striving after universal ends, in morality, in the state, and in religion.

Secondly, when the Hindu renounces this world, renounces all finite and worldly aims, sacrifices all personal ends, in order to attain union with the One, it is not to be supposed that we have here the Christian idea of self-sacrifice, or that this renunciation imports any sense of sin, any atonement for guilt. Such ideas are totally foreign to this sphere, because, again, the Hindu God is abstract. It is only the concrete Idea which produces concrete morality and law out of itself. The One abandons the multiplicity of the world to itself, and the element of unity, reason, order, is therefore not found in the world. And since morality is essentially the product of reason and unity, it is lacking here. No doubt Hindus have their moral codes. But morality and righteousness are no essential part of worship in this sphere.

(c.) *Buddhism.* In Hegel's time Hinduism was arousing deep interest in Europe, was being widely studied. Many of its sacred books had been translated. Very little, on the other hand, was then known of Buddhism. Consequently, while Hegel's knowledge of Hinduism is on the whole surprisingly good, is at any rate quite sufficient for his purpose, his information on the subject of Buddhism was obviously very deficient. He appears to have been ignorant of Hinayana Buddhism, and to have received only a somewhat distorted account of Mahayana Buddhism. His section on Buddhism is, therefore, not very satisfactory. Its main points are the following.

Buddhism is the last phase of the religion of Substance. But this Substance is now recognized as what it is, vacancy, emptiness, nothing, not-being. God is Nothing, Not-being. As we said at the beginning of this sub-section, the Absolute is, in these religions, only Pure Being. Or it is raised from the category of Being to that of Substance only by virtue of the fact that it contains Power, which is a determination of Substance. The position of Buddhism may therefore be represented by saying that it has reached the stage where Pure Being is seen to be identical with Nothing. The Absolute is this Nothing, this emptiness. Out of Nothing all things arise. To Nothing they return.

Worship here, accordingly, aims at the attainment of nothingness, annihilation, by the suppression of all desire, the withdrawal from everything particular, from every activity of life. This is Nirvana, the attaining of which puts an end to rebirth.

In Buddhism, as in the religion of China, Substance becomes embodied in a particular empirical Consciousness, Buddha, or the Dalailama, who are, accordingly, worshipped as the absolute Power.

### C.

#### *Religion in transition to the Religion of Spiritual Individuality.*

From the point at which we have arrived right up to the absolute culmination of religion in Christianity the advance which we have to register consists essentially in the ever-increasing spirituality of the idea of God. We are now at the point where God is no more than Substance. In the religions of spiritual individuality, to be dealt with in the next subsection, God has unquestionably become spirit, but not yet fully developed, completely concrete spirit. Only in Christianity is God concrete spirit out and out. At the present stage we have to deal with certain religions which exhibit the transition from Substance to Spirit. What is common to these religions is this, that though God is not yet definitely spirit, increasing traces of the idea of spirituality begin to make their appearance. They appear here, in a fragmentary way, as isolated moments of spirit, and in order that, as they arise before us, we may be able to recognize them for what they are, it may be well to remind ourselves at this point what the

essential distinction between substance and spirit is. Spirit is the universal, and substance likewise is the universal. But substance is an empty and abstract universal, which does not differentiate itself, which is destitute of any determination within itself, so that all determination, all particularity, falls outside it. Spirit, on the contrary, is the concrete universal, that is to say, it is no longer the undetermined, but is both determined and, what is more, determined by itself. It is the universal which by its own act puts forth the particular, which is the element of determinateness, out of itself, and then gathers the particular back into itself so that it attains individuality. It first creates a division within itself by sundering itself into universal and particular, and then, in the moment of individuality, heals the division and restores itself to unity. The particularity which spirit produces out of itself is its opposite, its other. Individuality, the restoring of unity, consists in this, that spirit resumes the other into itself, finds that the other is not an other, but is only itself.

Fragmentary elements of this idea now begin to appear in the following religions :—

(a) *Zoroastrianism*. Here God is no longer the wholly undetermined. He has a determination. He is the Good. Brahman, being entirely empty, being wholly indeterminate, was neither good nor evil. What is formless and without any features at all cannot have the feature of being good. And it was for this reason that morality constituted no essential part of Hinduism. But God is now the Good. Yet because we are still nearer to the conception of Substance than that of spirit, and since Power is a moment of Substance, this Good is Power. The Good as absolute Power—this is Ormazd. And that God is not wholly undetermined, but is determined as the Good—this is the first trace of the advance from substance to spirit.

This Good, however, is still completely abstract and one-sided. And for that reason the opposite one-sidedness, the opposite abstraction, stands over against it. This is Evil, Ahrinan. Evil is the other of Ormazd. But the fact that the Good is abstract means that it does not produce its other out of itself. Hence the other, evil, because it does not arise out of Ormazd, is itself an absolute being, independent of Ormazd,—an absolute opposite. This is dualism. Between these opposites, Good and Evil, there is waged an everlasting strife. Here we have the second trace of spirit. The universal, the Good, now has an other. There is division, opposition, strife. But what is essential to the idea of spirit, namely that this division, this strife, should be *within itself*, is lacking. The Good here wages war with a wholly external principle.

Although Ormazd and Ahrinan are, in a sense, personal beings, it must not be supposed that they are genuine spiritual individuals. What we have here is merely superficial personification of the abstract principles of good and evil. These are not persons, with definite characters, as the Greek Gods are. They are not, if one may use such an expression in connection with divine persons, real flesh and blood. They are bloodless abstractions. The fact that they are not genuinely spiritual, but that we are still within the religion of nature, comes out most emphatically in the identification of Ormazd with Light, and of Ahrinan with Darkness. These are not mere symbols. Light is not a symbol of the Good any more than the Good is a symbol of Light. Light *is* the good. The two are simply identical.

(b) *The Syrian Religion*. In Zoroastrianism religion has advanced to the extent that the universal has an other, with which it is at strife. This represents the division of the universal and the particular. But in Zoroastrianism this other is an external principle, and the strife and division fall outside the universal. The advance registered by the Syrian religion consists in the remedying of this defect. Its essential principle is that the God has his other

within himself, and is divided within himself, so that the strife is internal and proceeds within the substance of the God himself. This, as we have seen, is an essential element in the idea of spirit.

This conception of inner division appears here, however, in symbolical fashion. The Syrian religion has at its centre two myths—that of the phoenix, and that of the god Adonis. The phoenix is a bird which burns itself, but ever rises rejuvenated from its own ashes. The god Adonis dies, but rises again on the third day. The festival of Adonis consisted in a three days' lamentation for the death of the god, followed by joyous celebrations for his resurrection on the third day. Here we have for the first time the profound conception of the death of the god. Death is a natural event. It is the negation of spirit so far as spirit is a part of nature. These legends mean that the element of negation does not lie outside the god, as a mere external opposite, but enters into the very substance of godhead. Negation is the same as otherness. The god has his own other in himself. He negates himself. The strife, the division, is within the god. This, then, is the advance made here. The Zoroastrian god has his other outside him. Here the other, the opposite, the negative, is within the universal itself.

(c) *The Egyptian Religion.* The characteristics of the Syrian religion are retained and further developed in the religion of Egypt. Amidst the masses of confusing myths here, philosophy has to pick out what is essential, what most clearly exhibits the central core of thought which the religion contains. The chief god in this sphere is Osiris. Osiris, like Adonis, has the element of negation within himself. He dies. It is true that, in the first instance, the negation, the other, is a being external to Osiris, just as Ahriman is external to Ormazd. This other of Osiris is Typhon, the evil principle. But in spite of this, negation enters into the substance of the god, for Osiris suffers death, is slain by Typhon. But Osiris rises again, and becomes, after this resurrection, not only lord of the living but also ruler over the spirits of the dead. In this latter capacity Osiris is the Judge, awards punishment for evil, finally triumphs over Typhon.

The most important point here is the emphasis which is laid on the idea of resurrection. If death is the negation of spirit, resurrection is the negation of this negation. Death is slain. Here we have the *third* moment of the notion. First, we have the death of the god, that is, the universal negates itself, suffers division into particularity. Next, death is itself overcome, that is, the particular is negated and returns into the universal. The division is healed, the contradiction which had appeared within the Godhead is reconciled. Spirit is the universal which, firstly, particularizes itself, negates itself, produces its opposite out of itself, and then, secondly, negates this negation, resumes its opposite into identity with itself. The death of the god is the first of these movements; his resurrection is the second.

These are the essential points in the Egyptian religion. Hegel discusses various other characteristics at length. We have room here for only one point. Although, by means of the determinations just discussed, the conception of spirit has now been definitely reached, so that we can pass over to the religions of spirituality, yet it must be remembered that we are still here within the sphere of the religion of Nature. Consequently the purely natural, or sensuous side, is emphasized. It is for this reason that the Egyptian religion is throughout symbolical in character. Its effort is everywhere to find a sensuous symbol for the spiritual content. Its worship consists chiefly in those vast works of architecture which symbolize its mysteries. And connected with this same fact, namely the entanglement of spirit in the sensuous, is the prevalence of Zoolatry among the Egyptians. The ape, the monkey, the cat are worshipped. For



the animal is on the one hand a living being, and has that in common with spirit. But on the other hand, it is wholly a part of sensuous Nature. Zoolatry appears here because this religion is midway between Nature and spirit, and contains the principles of both.

### Sub-Section 2.

#### *The Religion of Spiritual Individuality. .*

In the foregoing three transitional religions we have seen the moments of the idea of spirit appearing in a fragmentary and scattered way. There, however, they were still conceived in a sensuous symbolical manner, and were thus still entangled in Nature. The next step in advance will consist in the gathering up of these fragmentary moments into the single definite idea of spirit, and the exaltation of spirit above all sensuous entanglement. Hence in the religions with which we are now about to deal, God or the gods are no longer merely Substance, but have become subject or spirit. Or, as we should say in present-day phraseology, we have reached the stage of the idea of a *personal* God. The divinities of preceding stages, Siva, Ormazd, Osiris, Adonis, no doubt have the superficial appearance of being persons. But they are not so in reality. They are only superficial personifications of abstract principles. Thus Ormazd is the Good. Siva is change, creation and destruction. The essential being of Ormazd is not personality. At bottom he is simply the abstract idea of the Good. The Good is what he essentially is. The personification of this principle is merely, so to speak, poetical embroidery, a superfluous addition of the imagination. Now, however, in the religions which follow, the very essence of the godhead is personality. Thus we have advanced from Substance to spirit. God is now definitely spirit. Nevertheless all that this means is not unfolded here. Not until we reach Christianity is the nature of spirit completely understood.

Substance, because it is empty and abstract, because it excludes all finitude and particularity from itself, is therefore cut off from the world, does not enter into the world. The infinite Substance stands on one side, the finite world on the other. A gulf divides them. But since spirit is essentially the concrete universal which goes forth into particularity, the gods of the stage which we are now about to study, enter into the world and take part in its operations. We now come to gods who are the founders of states, the conservators of morality, of marriage of agriculture, and so forth. And whereas Substance is merely Power, does not work in accordance with ends, and is destitute of wisdom, spirit, on the other hand, sets ends before itself. God is now wisdom.

Lastly, in spite of the fact that in the Jewish religion a certain element of servitude appears, these religions are, on the whole, the religions of freedom. So long as God is conceived as Substance, the human spirit is mere accident, which has no right of independent existence as against Substance. Now, however, God is spirit. But spirit is precisely that universal which allows the particular to go forth out of itself in free independent existence. The particular does not merely vanish in the universal, as the accident does in Substance. The Notion, which is what spirit is, does indeed produce the particular and then again annul it, taking it back into itself. But in this annulling it also preserves (*aufgehen*) the independence of the particular. Hence the finite and particular mind has, in these religions, a definite right to exist on its own account, and is free. And it is in accordance with this that the religious life is no longer conceived as withdrawal from the world, asceticism, absorption in the One, but rather as the active life of morality, life in the state, etc. For morality and the laws of the state are the laws of freedom, and the product of the free spirit.

(a) *The Jewish Religion, or the Religion of Sublimity.* It is difficult to apply some of the above observations to the prevailing features of the Jewish religion, which would appear, in many respects, to have strong affinities with the religions of Substance. And it is noticeable that although, in the Philosophy of Religion, Hegel introduces Judaism here, yet in the Philosophy of Art he places Jewish conceptions, along with Hindu and Egyptian art, in the sphere of oriental symbolism. Symbolic art corresponds roughly to the religion of Nature, while the religions of spiritual individuality correspond in the same way to Classical Art. There is thus a certain inconsistency here, due possibly to the somewhat hybrid character of Judaism.<sup>2</sup> No doubt, however, Hegel classed the Jewish religion as a religion of spiritual individuality because of its fundamental determination that God is a person.

God is personal ; but personality, spirit, is not yet understood as the concrete spirit which differentiates itself within itself and has the particular in it. And this abstractness, this absence of differentiation, implies that this personality is an undivided One. God, therefore, is now One, not the impersonal One of the Hindus, but One Person—Jehovah. Jehovah alone is independent reality. And since the particular is not part of Him, it is unreal, has no independent existence ; (the affinity with religions of Substance lies here). The finite world, all particular things, are nullities, and flee away from before His face. Nevertheless, since the universal must, in some shape or other, produce the particular out of itself, this production of the particular is conceived here as the Creation of the world by Jehovah. But the world thus created is a nullity, has no right to exist. That it does exist is an act of grace on the part of God. This is the goodness and mercy of God. And that all finite things are negated by the One, that they perish, thereby exhibiting their finiteness and the nothingness which they essentially are.—this is the justice, the righteousness of God. God is awful and holy.

God, as spirit, must act in accordance with ends. This is the wisdom of God. But Jehovah is Himself the sole reality, and therefore finite ends receive no recognition. God's end is Himself ; there is only this one end. All things are for the glory of God. Worship too consists in this, that man should recognize the glory of God, and should know his own worthlessness and nothingness. And since the finite consciousness has no standing before God, exists not of right but merely by grace, and is one with all other finite things which are negated by the One, for these reasons the attitude of man towards God is essentially one of fear. God is the Lord ; and the Lord is to be feared. Man, as having no right of existence, is the bond-servant of the Lord. He is not free. The people of God is a people adopted by covenant and contract on the conditions of fear and service.

Lastly, since God as spirit has transcended all entanglement with the sensuous, He exists accordingly in no sensuous shape, but solely as spirit, solely for thought. There is no image of God, no statue. The sensuous representation of God in natural forms, the making of images and idols, is an abomination.

(b) *The Greek Religion, or the Religion of Beauty.* The finite world is the *other* of God. In Judaism God negates this other. As soon as it is seen, however, that it is God Himself, who puts forth this other out of Himself, it follows that the other is itself part of God, is divine. God is in Nature. Nature, the sensuous, is not, according to this view, the opposite of God, godless, worthless. It is precisely in the sensuous that God manifests Himself. He

2. There is a similar inconsistency with regard to the culture of the Zend people. In the Philosophy of Art it appears in the pre-artistic sphere, that is to say, as anterior even to Symbolic art. In the Philosophy of Religion Zoroastrianism appears in the phase of transition from Substance to Spirit.

appears in sensuous forms, in works of beautiful art. This is the point of view of the Greek religion. And since the sensuous is fundamentally not unity but multiplicity, the Divine must appear here as a multiplicity of divine plastic figures. The One God of the Hebrews splits into the many gods of the Greeks. These gods are spiritual ; they are genuine persons, not mere personifications of abstract principles. It is true that Zeus is the atmosphere, Apollo the sun, Poseidon the sea. But they are not mere personifications of these elements. They are infinitely more than the atmosphere, the sun, and the sea. Each is a living individuality with a wealth of character, a multiplicity of traits,—not personifications of a single attribute. They are human, and this religion is the religion of humanity.

Man as no longer merely negated by God, as an essential manifestation of God, has the right of independent existence. Hence he is self-determined and free. This is a religion of free men. And the Divine, as no longer merely negating the finite sensuous world, dwells in it, is on friendly terms with it. In Judaism the finite flees away before the face of God. But the Greek gods are friendly beings. The finite has no need to fly from their wrath. Theirs is rather an infinite geniality and tolerance of all things. Man is no longer afraid. He is free. He is a spirit. And the gods, too, are spirits. They are like him. They are human and gracious. All is well. Man can rejoice. This is the religion of joyousness. Worship consists in games, festivals, processions, songs, plays, works of art. The gods are the founders of states, the guardians of the law. Zeus is a political god, the god of laws, of sovereignty.

But behind this multiplicity of gods there must needs be an underlying unity. The many gods have arisen by the differentiation of unity. The unity behind is dimly felt, vaguely seen. But since all content is in the gods, none is left over for the unity. Hence it is empty, abstract, the dark womb out of which the gods proceed, and which finally governs and controls them. This one power which rules over even the gods is an emptiness, a darkness: it is incomprehensible, blind, irrational. For what is completely empty cannot be known. There is nothing on which knowledge can fasten. What is utterly abstract is incomprehensible, and what is incomprehensible is irrational. This power, which remains in the background, which rules in a blind irrational way, is necessity, Fate.

(c) *The Roman Religion, or the Religion of Utility.* The religion of the Romans is often superficially identified with that of the Greeks. But despite the fact that many of its divinities are identifiable with Greek gods, its fundamental character is totally different. We have seen that, in the present sphere, God is necessarily conceived as acting in accordance with ends. Now the Hebrew God had but one end, infinite and universal in character, namely Himself. The Greek gods, on the other hand, identify themselves with a multitude of particular and finite ends. This is necessitated by their multiplicity and their human character. They are in fact finite beings with finite ends. Thus Athene identifies herself with the life and prosperity of Athens, Bacchus with Thebes, and the other gods with various particular localities and purposes. The Roman religion arises from combining the characters of the Jewish and Greek religions. It is, in this respect, their unity and synthesis. In common with Jehovah, the Roman Divinity serves a single universal end. But in common with the Greek conception, this end is a finite particular end, a human end, an end belonging to this world. This single end, finite and earthly, yet broadened out till it is universal in its scope, can only be the state ; not the state however as a rationally articulated organization, but the state as a universal power bringing all peoples within the scope of its sovereignty. Jupiter Capitolinus is the embodiment of this idea. He has for his end the universal sovereignty and dominion of the Roman people.

Yet there are a multiplicity of gods serving particular ends. To reconcile this with the single end of sovereignty can only mean that these many ends are made subservient to the one end, the many gods to Jupiter Capitolinus. The Greek gods were free, independent, and joyous. But now the gods are degraded to the rank of means. They are not beautiful. They are useful. They subserve innumerable ends all of which culminate in the one end of the state. Thus utility is the prevailing note here. The Greek religion was poetical. The Roman religion is prosaic. The Greek gods were genial and joyous. The Roman gods, chained to the ends they serve, are earnest, pale and anxious. They lose spirituality and life, become grey and lifeless beings even in the hands of such a poet as Virgil.

Since this is a religion of utility, everything useful is revered as divine. The art of baking ranks as divine. Fornax, the oven in which the corn is dried, is a goddess. Vesta is the fire used for baking bread.

But the universal end is that of the state, power, dominion. It was nothing wonderful, then, when the actual present power who was the embodiment of that end, the emperor namely, was worshipped as a god.

### Section 3.

#### *The Absolute Religion: Christianity.*

Christianity is the absolute religion because it has for its content the absolute truth. Its content is, according to Hegel, identical with the Hegelian philosophy. Hegelianism is esoteric Christianity. For though the content is the same, the form is different. Philosophy presents the absolute content in the absolute form, the form of pure thought. Christianity presents this identical content in the form of sensuous and pictorial thought, *Vorstellung*. The fact that Christianity contains the absolute truth also necessarily involves that it is the *revealed* religion. It is the religion in which God completely and finally reveals Himself as what He is, as concrete Spirit, the full nature of which is now made manifest. And since Hegel finds the truth revealed, in the form of *Vorstellung*, in the dogmas of the Christian Church, the Trinity, the Creation, the Fall, the Incarnation, the Redemption, the Resurrection, and the Ascension, he has consequently no patience with that type of 'rationalizing' theologian who attempts to dilute and explain away these dogmas to meet the demands of the understanding and to satisfy the shallow enlightenment of the age. These dogmas contain the essence of Christianity. They are true, because they contain the substance of the truth, albeit in the form of *Vorstellung*.

As to the proof of the truth of Christianity, this should not be rested on miracles or other external evidences. A miracle is something that is perceived by the senses to have happened. It is an external event. Spiritual truth is eternal and rests on its own foundation, nor is it dependent upon the sensuous and external, upon whether this or that event has happened. To make the spiritual truth dependent upon miracles and other-sensuous evidences is to degrade the spiritual. It is a matter of absolutely no importance or interest whether water was turned into wine at Cana, or whether this or that person was healed. The truths of the spirit are absolute and eternal and independent of the sensuous. If proof there is to be, it must be spiritual proof. The only proof of the spiritual is the witness of the spirit itself. As to what this witness of the spirit is, it may appear in many forms. In the masses of men it can only make itself known in the form of feeling, in the instinctive response of the spirit to what is noble and true. In the completely cultivated consciousness, on the other hand, the witness of the spirit will be thought, philosophy itself. The entire Hegelian system is nothing but the proof of the

truth here. The whole controversy about miracles is a shallow one. And equally shallow are the attempts made in some quarters to belittle Christian doctrine by showing that it has adopted pagan rites, that the Incarnation and the Trinity are heard of in earlier and alien religions, that Adonis, like Christ, rose again in three days, and so on. For in the first place the question of the origin of a thought has absolutely no bearing on the question of its essential value and truth; and in the second place, since it is the one Notion which everywhere seeks to produce itself in the world, it is absolutely essential that the truth should have made its appearance, in fragmentary, one-sided, and abstract forms, in earlier religions.

The fundamental determination of Christianity is that God is concrete Spirit. We have seen this foreshadowed in earlier religions. Now it is completely unfolded. Concrete spirit is that which, in accordance with the moments of the Notion, is (1) the universal, which suffers diremption into (2) the particular, which returns into identity with the universal in (3) the individual. Now, in the most general sense, the universal is the Logical Idea. In Christian *Vorstellung* this appears in the form of God as He is in His own self, before the creation of the world. The second movement is that the universal becomes the particular, i.e. God creates the world, Nature, including man so far as man is finite and a part of nature. Lastly, the particular returns into the universal. This is, according to Hegel, the Church. And with these three spheres, God as He is in Himself, the world, and the Church, he deals under the titles of the Kingdoms of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit.

(a) *The Kingdom of the Father.* This is the doctrine of the nature of God as He is in Himself before the creation of the world. God, as such, is the Idea, the Notion. The Notion is threefold in itself. And God, therefore, is threefold in Himself. As universal, He is God the Father. The universal produces the particular out of itself, i.e. God the Father begets God the Son. The particular returning into the universal, is the individual, i.e. God the Holy Spirit. The three factors of the Notion are not three *parts* of it. Each factor is itself the entire Notion. Thus the universal is not merely the universal, it is also the particular and the individual. And the particular likewise is the universal and the individual. How this is has been proved in detail in the Logic. The Notion, although it contains three moments, is yet one undivided Notion, for each moment is the entire Notion. This appears in Christianity as the doctrine of the Trinity. God is undividedly one. Yet God is three Persons. But the Son and the Spirit are not different from the Father. For each is, not a part of God, but the entire Godhead. Thus that God is the Triune God is necessarily involved in the assertion that God is Spirit. For this concrete unity and identity of the three moments of the Notion is precisely what Spirit is.

Whoever has understood the Doctrine of the Notion as expounded in the Logic has understood the Trinity. Hence the assertions of rationalists that the Trinity is contrary to reason, and the assertions of some religious persons that it is a mystery which transcends reason, are alike wide of the mark. It is certainly incomprehensible and self-contradictory to the finite understanding which proceeds upon the principle of identity. It is, however, not only comprehensible to reason, whose principle is the identity of opposites, but it is the very essence of rationality itself.

(b) *The Kingdom of the Son.* The Logical Idea passes over into Nature. This is, of course, not an event in time, but an eternal and logical development. But Christianity represents it in pictorial fashion as something that happened, as the Creation of the world by God. This would make it appear as if it were an accidental and arbitrary act of God, as if God either

might or might not have created a world. In reality, of course, it is a logical necessity that the Idea must come out of itself into otherness. It lies in the very nature of God to create a world. And that this world should exhibit estrangement from God and should finally be reconciled to him, also lies in the nature of the Notion, but is here presented as a divine history, a divine plan of events which have happened in the world.

The world is the Other of God. Or, to express it otherwise, the universal allows the particular to go forth from it in free independence. Thus there arises that division and separation between the universal and the particular, which appears as the estrangement between God and the world. This estrangement in its special reference to man as a part of Nature, is presented in the doctrine of the Fall. Man, as particular spirit, is in his essential nature distinguished from, estranged from, the universal spirit which is God. My particularity and finitude are precisely the factors which constitute my lack of identity with God. This is the meaning of the doctrine that man is by nature evil, a far profounder truth than the modern shallow view that man is by nature good. For evil is simply particularity. I do evil when I persist in my particularity, when I follow my particular ends instead of identifying myself with universal and rational ends. Man is evil, is estranged from God, just because he is particular and finite spirit. This estrangement, therefore, is in reality inherent in the very notion of man. It is an eternal truth. But the story of the Fall, of course, represents it, like the Creation, as an event which happened.

This estrangement necessitates reconciliation. Man must return to God. In terms of the Notion, this reconciliation occurs by the return of the particular into the universal in the moment of individuality. This, likewise, is not an event, but an eternal truth. Or to put it otherwise, the human mind, in its very separation from God, is at the same time identical with Him. For I am not merely the particular finite mind. I am also the universal mind, the infinite mind. The universal is in me as my core and essence. This reconciliation, this essential unity of God and man, appears in religion in the doctrines of the Incarnation, the death of Christ, His resurrection and ascension. God is not the abstract universal. He particularizes Himself, enters into the finite world, becomes flesh. In the person of Christ popular consciousness finds the unity of God and man placed before it as an absolutely immediate sensuous fact. God not only becomes finite, but proceeds to the extreme of finitude: he suffers death. Negation, otherness, finitude, are part of the very substance of God, and this is a necessary element in the idea of God as spirit. But He rises again from the dead and ascends to the Father, that is, the universal which became particular now returns into itself. In this act the particular, which was sundered from the universal, becomes identical with it. Reconciliation is complete. The estrangement between God and man is overcome.

(c) *The Kingdom of the Spirit.* God and man are one. Their unity is now represented in this fashion, that this Spirit of God is in man, not however in man as particular man, but in a community of men, the Church. The Holy Spirit is actually present in His Church. If the Kingdom of the Father was the Logical Idea, God before the creation of the world, and the Kingdom of the Son was the Idea in its Otherness, Nature, the Kingdom of the Spirit, as the third moment, the moment of individuality, is the unity of the two foregoing. For the Church is, on the one hand, the pure spirit of God, but it is also, secondly, *in* the world, actually present. It is the Kingdom of God upon earth.

## SOME ANCIENT PLANTS AND TREES OF CEYLON.

(Concluded from Vol. VII, Pt. I. Page 37.)

By JOHN M. SENAVERATNA, F. R. H. S.

### THE "ABHIDHĀNAPPADĪPIKĀ."

THE original intention of the present writer was to confine the paper on this subject to the references in the *Mahāvansa* (Chapters I. to XXXVII.) covering a period of some nine centuries, 543 B.C. to 300 A.D. But in order to deal with the subject more exhaustively, primarily for the use of local botanical students, it was decided to extend the survey to the 12th century A.D. by utilising the information available in a work which, generally speaking, has been known hitherto only to Pali students.

I refer to the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, a Dictionary of Pali synonyms, of the highest authority, which (as its learned translator, Vaskaduve Subhūti, High Priest, rightly declares) holds the same pre-eminent place in the Pali Literature as the celebrated *Amarakosha* does in the Sanskrit. It was compiled by Moggallāna Thera in the reign of Parākrama Báhu the Great (A.D. 1153—1187).

The *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, in the course of its 1203 stanzas, throws valuable light on the Flora of Ceylon as known to its compiler in the 12th century A.D., and I have picked out 236 references to certain plants and trees and creepers. These are given below, the Sinhalese names being arranged alphabetically with a view to convenient reference. Side by side with each Sinhalese name is given the equivalent Pali term as well as the Botanical names wherever possible.

In regard to the Sinhalese names, those only that are numbered (1 to 236) appear in the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*. The others are either alternate names or those by which the particular plants or trees are more familiarly known at the present day. I have been unable, however, to find out the exact Sinhalese equivalents of what in the Pali are described as *Sikhari* (191), *Soṇo* (194) and *Ghāso* or *Yavaso* (204) respectively, and I shall be grateful to any reader of the *Ceylon Antiquary* who will supply the information.

As for the Botanical names, they are in the main more or less tentative. Those who have dealt with Ceylon Flora are not always agreed as to the identification of certain plants and trees, with the result that we not infrequently find varying Botanical names applied to particular plants. In these circumstances I have thought it best to group together the differing Botanical terms against each Sinhalese name, leaving it to those competent in this field eventually to decide which is correct and which is not.

The references to Childers, Clough, Subhūti, Le Goc, Attygalle and Willis are respectively to the following works by those writers :—

Childers : *Pali Dictionary*Clough : *Sinh-Eng. Dictionary*Subhūti : *Abhidhānappadīpikā*Rev. Fr. M. J. Le Goc : *Introduction to Tropical Botany*Dr. John Attygalle : *Sinhalese Materia Medica*Dr. J. C. Willis : *A Revised Catalogue of the Flowering Plants and Ferns of Ceylon, native and introduced (1911.)*

I have utilised Dr. Willis' work instead of Dr. Trimen's Catalogue (published in the C.B.R.A.S. Journal for 1885) for the reason that certain Orders have been revised since the publication of Trimen and this revision is embodied in the former.

The numbers given at the end of each Pali name indicate the particular stanzas of the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* in which the names occur

Sinhalese Name.	Pali Name.	Botanical Name.
1 Aba	.. <i>Siddhattho; Sāsapo</i> (451, 1116)	.. <i>Brassica juncea</i>
Achāriya-palu	.. (see <i>Kasambiliya</i> )	..
Ādatoda	.. (see <i>Osabiya</i> )	..
Agalādhara	.. (see <i>Osabiya</i> )	..
2 Agil	.. Lohani ; Garu ; Galu (302)	.. <i>Aquilaria agallocha</i>
3 Agil, Kalu-	.. Kālāgaru (302)	.. (Black variety of Agil)
Alānga	.. (see <i>Rukanguna</i> )	..
Alariya	.. (see <i>Kaneru</i> )	..
4 Amba	.. Ambo ; Cuto (557)	.. <i>Mangifera indica</i>
5 Amba, Et-	.. Puṇḍariko ; Setambo (558)	.. <i>Mangifera Zeylanica</i>
6 Amba, Mi-	.. Sahakāro (557)	.. (A kind of very fragrant Mango)
Araliya	.. (see <i>Kaneru</i> )	..
7 Aralu	.. Abhayā ; Haritakī (569)	{ <i>Terminalia chebula</i> (Willis) <i>Terminalia citrina</i> (Childers)
Asana	.. (see <i>Piya</i> )	..
Asōka	.. (see <i>Hōpalu</i> )	..
8 Asvenna	.. Sālapannī ; Thirā (584)	{ <i>Hedysarum Gangeticum</i> (Subhuti) <i>Desmodium Gangeticum</i> (Childers) <i>Alysicarpus vaginalis</i> (Willis)
9 Attana	.. Ummatto ; Mātulo (577)	{ <i>Datura fastuosa</i> (Willis) <i>Datura metel</i> (Childers)
Attikka	.. (see <i>Dimbul</i> )	..
Avari, Nil-	.. (see <i>Beru</i> )	..
Babus-tanamul	.. (see <i>Tanamul</i> )	..
Badulla	.. (see <i>Bandulu</i> )	..
Baduvada	.. (see <i>Vada</i> )	..
Bakmi	.. (see <i>Kolom</i> )	..
10 Bandulu <sup>1</sup> [or Badulla or Sen-kottan]	.. Bhallātako ; Bhalli (561)	.. <i>Semecarpus Anacardium</i> (Childers)

1 This refers to the *Badulla* of Willis who names the varieties as follows :—

Badulla	<i>Semecarpus Coriacea</i>
Badulla	.. <i>Gardneri</i>
Badulla	.. <i>Obscura</i>
Maha-badulla	.. <i>Subpeltata</i>
Kalu-badulla	.. <i>Obovata</i>



Sinhalese Name	Pali Name	Botanical Name
11 Banduvada	Jayasumanam ; Bandhúko ; Bhandiko ; Bandhujivako (575)	<i>Pentapetes phoenicea</i>
Bangeta	.. (see Vanuvel)	..
12 Bata, Bihi-	.. Tejano ; Saro (601)	.. <i>Saccharum Sara</i> (Subhuti)
13 Bata, Kulal-	.. Nalo ; Dhamano (601)	.. <i>Amphidonax Karka</i> (Childers)
Batu-karivila	.. (see Karivila)	..
14 Baḷu, Ela-	.. Váttakí ; Brahati (588)	.. <i>Solanum xanthocarpum</i>
15 Batu, Vam-	.. Vátingano ; Bhaṇḍákí (588)	.. <i>Solanum melongena</i>
16 Beli	.. Málúro ; Beluva ; Billo (556)	.. <i>Aegle marmelos</i>
17 Beru <sup>2</sup> [or Nil-avari]	.. Nili ; Niliní (585)	.. <i>Indigofera tinctoria</i>
Bhurjapatra	.. (see Rukburuda)	..
Bihi-bata	.. (see Bata)	..
18 Bimba <sup>3</sup>	.. Bimbiká ; Rattaphalá (591.920)	<i>Bryonia grandis</i> (Willis) <i>Momordica monodelpha</i> (Childers. Subhuti)
19 Bó [or Esatu-bó]	.. Assattho ; Bodhi (551.1038)	.. <i>Ficus religiosa</i>
20 Bódi-eta (or Sanni-nayan)	.. Bákucí ; Soma-valliká (586)	.. <i>Vernonia anthelmintica</i>
21 Bólidda [or Pichcha or Geta-pichcha]	.. Tiṇasúlam ; Malliká (574)	.. <i>Jasminum Sambac</i>
22 Bulat-vela	.. Nágalata ; Tāmbhúli (589)	.. <i>Piper Betle</i>
23 Bulu	.. Akkho ; Vibhítako (569)	.. <i>Terminalia belerica</i>
24 Damba	.. Jambú ; Jambavam (547)	<i>Eugenia Gardneri</i> (Willis) <i>Eugenia Jambu</i> (Childers)
25 Dasapura [or Kalánduru]	Vāneyyam ; Kuṭannatam (592)	.. <i>Cyperus rotundus</i> (Childers)
26 (Dava) <sup>4</sup>	.. Dhavo (1041)	{ ? <i>Anogeissus latifolia</i> <i>Grislea tomentosa</i> (Childers) <i>Lythrum fruticosum</i> (Subhuti)
27 Debara [or Maha-Debara or Masan]	.. Koli ; Badarí (558)	.. <i>Zizyphus Jujuba</i> (vel <i>vulgaris</i> )
28 Dehi [or Desi]	.. Dantasattho ; Jambhíro (553)	.. <i>Citrus medica</i> (vel <i>acida</i> )
29 Del [or Kana-gona]	.. Labujo ; Likuco (570)	.. <i>Artocarpus Lakoocha</i>
30 Delum	.. Karako ; Dálimo (570)	.. <i>Punica Granatum</i>
Demata	.. (see Et-demata)	..
31 Désaman	.. Sumana ; Jāti-sumaná ; Jati ; Málati ; Vassikí (576)	.. <i>Jasminum grandiflorum</i>
32 Désaman, Satṭeti ; Desi	.. Sattalá ; Navamálíká (576) .. (see Dehi)	.. (Double jasmine)
33 Dévadaliya	.. Dévatáso ; Jimúto (578)	{ ? <i>Cearus Diodora</i> <i>Lipeocercis serrata</i> (Childers)
34 Dévadáru	.. Devadáru ; Bhalladáru (568)	<i>Cedrus Deodara</i> <i>Pinus Deodora</i> (Childers)

2. Willis has *Agrostiostachys longifolia* for Beru, though for Nil-avari he gives *Indigofera tinctoria*.

3. Bimba is not to be found in Willis; but in Sanskrit Bimbi is the name for both *Kóvakka* (*Cephalandra Indica*) and *Kem-vel* (*Bryonia grandis*).

4. Willis has *Dava* which he identifies with *Anogeissus latifolia*.

Sinhalese Name.	Pali Name.	Botanical Name.
35 Dimbul (or Attikkā or Udumbarā)	.. Udumbaro : Yaññango (551) ..	<i>Ficus glomerata</i>
Divi-adiya	.. (see Divi-pasuru) ..	
36 Divi-pasuru (or Divi-adiya)	.. Jivanti : Jivani (594) ..	<i>Ipomoea Pes-tigridis</i>
Divul	.. (see Givulu) ..	
Diya-labu	.. (see Labu) ..	
37 Diya-mitta	.. Ambaṭṭhā : Pāṭhā (582) ..	<i>Cissampelos Pareira</i> (Willis)
Diya-ratambala	.. (see Hōpalu) ..	<i>Clypea Hernandifolia</i> (Childers)
Diya-ratmal	.. (see Hōpalu) ..	
Dodan	.. (see Naran) ..	
		<i>Calophyllum Inophyllum</i> (Willis)
38 Domba	.. Punnāgo : Kesaro (556) ..	<i>Rottleria tinctoria</i> (Childers)
		<i>Ochrocarpus longifolius</i> (Attygalle)
39 Dummala	.. Yakkhadhūpo : Sajju- laso (304) ..	? (Resin) [(Willis)
40 Dummella (or Patola)	.. Paṭolo : Tittako (595) ..	<i>Trichosanthes cucumerina</i>
		<i>Trichosanthes dioica</i> (Childers)
		<i>Trichosanthes anguina</i> (Le Goc)
Ehela	.. (see Esala) ..	
Ela-andu	.. (see Hela-andu) ..	
Ela-batu	.. (see Batu) ..	
Ela-imbul	.. (see Kinihiriya) ..	
Ela-kihiri	.. (see Kihiri) ..	
Ela-kobolīla	.. (see Kobolīla) ..	
Ela-midella	.. (see Midella) ..	
Ela-palol	.. (see Palol) ..	
Ela-trastavalu	.. (see Trastavalu) ..	
Ela-upul	.. (see Upul) ..	
Ela-vara	.. (see Vara) ..	
41 Embarella	.. Ambāṭako : Pītanako (554) ..	<i>Spondias mangifera</i>
Embul-bakmi	.. (see Kolom) ..	
Endaru	.. (see Erandu) ..	
42 Enshal (or Ensal)	.. Elā : Bahulā (591-1010) ..	<i>Elettaria Cardamomum</i>
Epala, Van-	.. (see Osabiya) ..	
43 Erabadu	.. Kimsuko : Pālībhaddo (553) ..	<i>Erythrina indica</i> (Willis)
		<i>Butea Frondosa</i> (Childers)
44 Erabadu, Val-	.. Rohi : Rohitako (566) ..	<i>Andersonia Rohitaka</i> (Childers)
45 Erandu (or Endaru)	.. Āmaṇḍo : Eraṇḍo (566) ..	<i>Ricinus Communis</i>
46 Esala (or Ehela)	<div> <div>Indivarā ; Katamālī ; Rājarukkho ; Uddālo ; Vātaghātako ; Vyādhighā- tako (552.1003)</div> <div>}</div> </div>	<i>Cassia Fistula</i>
Esatu (or Esatu-bo)	.. (see Bō) ..	
Etamba	.. (see Amba) ..	

Sinhalese Name.	Pali Name.	Botanical Name.
Etambiriya	.. (see Valanga-sā)	..
47 Et-demata (or Demata)	.. Kāsmarī; Sepannī (558)	.. <i>Gmelina arborea</i>
Et-oju	.. (see Upul)	..
48 Etteriya	.. Kapilā : Simsapā (571)	.. <i>Dalbergia Sisu</i> (Childers)
Et-vag apul	.. (see Vagapul)	.. <i>Muraya exotica</i> (Willis)
49 Gal-kehel	.. (see Kesel)	..
Galmala (or Gammalu)	.. Asmapuppham : Seleyya (591)	.. ? <i>Pterocarpus Marsupium</i> *
50 Gam-miris-vel (or Miris)	.. Kolakam : Maricam (459)	.. <i>Piper nigrum</i>
Gandhaketa-tana	.. (see Tana)	..
Gas-karal-heba	.. (see Sebo)	..
Gas-kela	.. (see Kela)	..
Geta-pichcha	.. (see Bolidda)	..
Giri-bevila	.. (see Keliya)	..
Girinil	.. (see Katarolu)	..
Girivedi-bevila	.. (see Keliya)	..
51 Givulu (or Divul)	.. Kapittho : Kavitttho (551)	.. <i>Feronia Elephantum</i>
52 Gokatu (see also Kokatiya)	.. Gokaṇṭako; Singhāto (583)	.. <i>Tribulus terrestris</i> *
Gon-kekiri	.. (see Kekiri)	..
Goraka, Kana-	.. (see Kokatiya)	..
53 Gugul	.. Guggulu : Kosiko (557)	.. <i>Balsamodendron mukul</i> (Atty-galle)
54 Hal	1. Sāli ; 2. Vihi ; 3. Yavo ; 4. Godhūmo ; 5. Kangu ; 6. Varako ; 7. Kudrūso (450)	.. (The seven dhaññas or grains)
55 (Hana)	.. Atasi ; Ummā (452)	.. <i>Linum usitatissimum</i>
Handun	.. (see Sandun)	.. <i>Crotalaria juncea</i> (Willis)
56 Hangulu	.. Phaggavo (598)	.. (A kind of pot-herb)
57 Harenu	.. Kapilā : Repukó (590)	.. ?
58 Hatavari	.. Satamūli ; Satāvarī (585)	.. <i>Asparagus racemosus</i> (Childers, Willis)
59 Hela-andu	.. Ajjuko (579)	.. <i>falcatus</i> (Willis)
Hela-upul	.. (see Upul)	..
Hela-vara	.. (see Vara)	..
60 Hel-meli	.. Dakasītalikam ; Kalla-hāram ; Soghandikam (689)	.. (A white water-lily)
Hindi	.. (see Indi)	..
Hingini	.. (see Ingini)	..
61 Hiriveriya (or Iriveriya)	.. Hiriveram ; Vālam (591)	.. <i>Plectranthus Zeylanicus</i> (Willis) <i>Andropogon Schoenanthus</i> <sup>7</sup> (Childers)

5 *Pterocarpus Marsupium* is really the Sinhalese *Gamalu* or *Gammalu*. Is it the same as our *Gal-mala*?

6. Willis gives *Gokatu* as an alternative name for the *Kana-goraka* or *Kokatiya* (*Garcinia morella*). But the *Gokatu* (Sanskrit *gokshura* and Tamil *nerunji* or *nerinchi*) is really the *Tribulus terrestris* for which by the way, Willis gives, as a Sinhalese name, the obviously Tamil one of *Sambu-nerinchi*.

7 This is the Sinhalese *Pengiri*.

Sinhalese Name.	Pali Name.	Botanical Name.
62 Hitāna (or Ítana) ..	Dubbā; Saddalo (599)	{ <i>Panicum dactylon</i> (Childers) ? <i>Andropogon contortus</i> (Willis) <i>Heteropogon hirtus</i>
63 Hitāna, Sudu- ..	Golomī (599)	.. (White blossom variety of Hitāna)
64 Homuvangu (or Ve-ve!) ..	Vañjūlo; Vetaso (553)	.. <i>Calamus Rotang</i>
65 Hōpalu ..	Asoko; Vañjūlo (573)	.. <i>Jonesia Asoka</i>
[or Asoka or Diyaratam-bala or Diyaratmal]		
Hōra ..	(see Sarala)	..
66 Huna (or Una) ..	Tacasāro; Vamāro; Vēlu; Vēpu (600)	.. <i>Bambusa vulgaris</i>
67 Hunida (or Olinda) ..	Guñjā <sup>8</sup> ; Jīñjuko (479, 485)	.. <i>Abrus precatorius</i>
68 Imbul ..	Pichchilā; Simbal. (565)	.. <i>Eriodendron anfractuosum</i>
69 Imbal, Kola- ..	Kūṭasambal; Rotano (565)	.. (A variety of the imbul or silk-cotton tree)
70 Indi ..	Khajjāri; Sindhā (593)	.. <i>Phoenix Zeylanica</i>
71 Indusal ..	Indasalo; K. eriko; Sallaki (568)	.. <i>Boswellia thurifera</i>
72 Ingini ..	Katako (1036)	.. <i>Strychnos potatorum</i>
73 Inguru ..	Adlakka; M. p. u. āham; Sīngiveram (455)	.. <i>Zingiber officinale</i>
74 Iramasu ..	Samam (835)	.. <i>Hemidesmus Indicus</i>
Irivēriya ..	(see Hiriveriya)	..
Ítana ..	(see Hitāna)	..
75 Ivada ..	Ativisā; Mahosādam (586)	.. ? <i>Aconitum heterophyllum</i>
Jāti-pha'a ..	(see Sādikka)	..
76 Jīvaka <sup>9</sup> ..	Jivako; Madhurako (594)	.. ?
77 Kadala ..	Caṇako; Kalayo (451)	.. <i>Cicer Arietinum</i>
Kahata ..	(see Kasata)	..
Kalañña ..	(see Pulila)	..
Kalan uru ..	(see Dasapura)	..
78 Kalila ..	Kukaco; K. m. (556)	.. <i>Capparis Aphylla</i> (Childers)
Kaṭu-agil ..	(see Agil)	..
79 Kaluma!-Sēphalika <sup>10</sup> ..	Nilikā; Sēphalika (575)	.. <i>Nyctanthes arbor-tristis</i>
[or Sēpala or Sēpalika]		
Kalu-trastavālu ..	(see Trastavālu)	..
80 Kalu-vel ..	Kālānusāri; Kaṭṭu (302)	.. (A dark fragrant sandal wood)
Kana-gōra ..	(see Deī)	..
Kana-goraka ..	(see Kokatiya)	..
81 Kaneru [or Araliya or Alariya] ..	Assamārako; Kanavīro (577)	{ <i>Nerium odorum</i> (Le Goc) <i>Nerium oleander</i> (Willis)

8. The smallest Javaka's weight was quarter of a pound or about a pound shrub.

9. Confusion of the *Madu* (*Cycas circinalis*) or *Madu* (*Ph. indicum*) which in Sanskrit is called *Madhurika*?10. It is also called *Rajanīhara* "night-shining" and *Araba* "very precious."

Sinhalese Name.	Pali Name.	Botanical Name.
82 Kapu	.. Badara ; Kappási (589)	{ <i>Gossypium herbaceum</i> (Attygalle) <i>Bombax malabaricum</i> (Le Goc)
83 Kapuru <sup>11</sup>	.. Ghanasáro ; Kappúram ; Sitabbho (305)	{ <i>Cinnamomum camphora</i> <i>Dryabalanops Aromatica</i> (Attygalle)
84 Kara	.. Káro (1011)	.. <i>Canthium parviflorum</i>
85 Karábu	.. Devakusumam ; Lavangam (303)	.. <i>Caryophyllus Aromaticus</i>
86 Karamba [or Mahakaramba]	.. Karamaddo ; Suseno (578)	.. <i>Carissa carandas</i>
87 Karanda [or Magulkaranda]	.. Karañjo ; Nattamálo (567)	.. <i>Pongamia glabra</i>
88 Karivila [or Batu-karivila]	.. Káravello ; Susaví (596)	.. <i>Momordica charantia</i>
89 Kasambiliya [or Acháriya-palu or Vanduru-me]	.. Duphasso ; Kapikacchu (582)	.. <i>Mucuna prurius</i> <sup>12</sup> (Childers)
90 Kasata [or Kahata]	.. Kumbhí ; Kumudiká (564)	.. <i>Careya arborea</i>
91 Kasturi	.. Katthúriká ; Migamado (303)	.. ? <i>Mochus moschiferus</i>
92 Katarolu [or Giriniil or Nil-katarolu]	.. Girikanya ; Parájitá (584)	.. <i>Clitoria ternatea</i>
93 Katukaranda	.. Pakiriyo ; Pútiko (566)	{ <i>Guilandina Bonduc</i> (Childers) <i>Barleria Prionitis</i> (Willis)
94 Katu-karandu	.. Dási ; Kinkirátó ; Kurandkoa ; Sereyyako (579)	{ <i>Barleria Prionitis</i> (Willis) <i>Barleria cristata</i> (Childers)
Katu-karósana	.. (see Kulu-réna)	..
95 Katu-kihiri [or Uguressa]	.. Sádhu-karño ; Vikankato (559)	.. <i>Flacourtia Ramontchi</i> (vel <i>sapida</i> )
96 Katu-vel-batu	.. Byagghí ; Nididdhiká (585)	.. <i>Solanum Jacquini</i>
97 Kekiri [or Gon-kekiri] <sup>13</sup>	.. Elálukam ; Kakkári (597)	.. <i>Cucumis melo</i>
98 Kela [or Gas-kela]	.. Kimsuko ; Paláso 555.1016,	.. <i>Butea frondosa</i>
99 Kelinda [or Kiri-vallá]	.. Girimalliká ; Kutajo (573)	{ <i>Holarrhena antidysenterica</i> <i>Wrightia antidysenterica</i> (Childers)
100 Kéliya [or Giri-bevila or Girivedi-bevila]	.. Jhasá ; Nágabalá (588)	{ <i>Uraria Lagopodioides</i> <sup>14</sup> (Childers) <i>Sida Mysorensis</i> (vel <i>alba</i> )
Kem-vela	.. (see Bimba)	..

11. For Kapuru Willis has *Goniotalamus Walkeri*. He omits the Sinhalese name of *Cinnamomum Camphora*. Dr. Attygalle refers to yet another *Kapuru*, Borneo Camphor, *Dryabalanops Aromatica*.

12. This is the *Mucuna pruriens*. If Willis is correct in Sinhalese *Acháriya-palu*, another name for which is *Wanduru-me*. Willis, however, gives *Wanduru-me* as an alternative name to the *Me-karal* (*Vigna sinensis*). Willis also gives *Tragia involucrata* for the *Vel-kahambiliya*, but whether the latter or even *Wanduru-me* is identifiable with our "*Kasambiliya*" is a matter still to be decided.

13. Willis gives *Gon-kekiri* as another name for *Kekiri*. But the two are varieties, *Gon-kekiri* being *Cucumis pubescens*.

14. Willis' *Kéliya* (called also *Kohu-kinilla*) is *Grewia microcos* but this does not appear to be the plant here referred to in the *Abhidhanappalipika*. A clue, however, as to the modern Sinhalese name of the plant is afforded by the Pali name, which is the same as the Sanskrit, viz., *Nagabala*. The *Nagabala* is the Sinhalese *Giri-bevila* or *Girivedi-bevila* which, according to Dr. Attygalle, is *Sida Alba* and, according to Willis, *Sida mysorensis*. Childers, however, identifies *Nagabala* with "the shrub *Uraria Lagopodioides*" which, in Willis is the Sinhalese *Puzrenna* (q. v.).

Sinhalese Name.	Pali Name.	Botanical Name.
101 Kesel [or Gal-kehel]	Kadali; Moco; Rambha (589)	<i>Musa Sapientum</i> (Childers, Le Goc)
102 Kihiri, Ela-	Kadaro; Somavakko (567)	<i>Musa Paradisiaca</i> <sup>15</sup> (Willis)
103 Kihiri, Rat-	Dantadhāvano; Khadiro (567)	(A white variety of <i>Rat-kihiri</i> )
104 Kikirindiya	Bhingarājo; Mākkavo (595)	<i>Acacia Sundra</i>
105 Kimbul-venna	Sunisannakam; Vitunnam (596)	<i>Eclipta alba</i> (Willis, Le Goc)
106 Kindi	Galoci; Pūtilata (581)	<i>Eclipta erecta</i> (Attygalle)
107 Kīñhiriya [or Ela-imbul]	Dumuppalo; Kañikāro (570)	<i>Eclipta prostrata</i> (Childers)
108 Kiri-palu	Khirikā; Rājāyatanam (564)	<i>Marsilia quadrifolia</i> <sup>16</sup> (Childers)
Kiri-vallā	(see <i>Kelinda</i> )	<i>Marsilea dentata</i> (Subhuti)
109 Kitul	Hintālo (604)	<i>Cocculus cordifolius</i> <sup>17</sup> (Childers)
110 Kobolīlā [or Ela-kobolīlā]	Kovilāro; Yugapatto (552)	<i>Cochlospermum Gossypium</i> (Willis)
111 Kohomba	Ariṭṭho; Nimbo; Puvimando (570)	<i>Pterospermum Acerifolium</i> (Childers)
112 Kokatiya [or Gokatu or Kana-goraka]	Singhāṭakam (1010)	<i>Buchanania latifolia</i> <sup>18</sup> (Clough)
113 Kokum <sup>19</sup> [or Kumku-mappu]	Kasmīrajam; Kunkumam (303)	<i>Garcinia Morella</i>
Kola-imbul	(see <i>Imbul</i> )	<i>Garcinia Terpnophylla</i> (Willis)
114 Kolom [or Embul-bakmī]	Kadambo; Nipo; Piyako (561.1092)	<i>Crocus sativus</i>
115 Komadu	Kumbhaṇḍo; Vallibho (597)	<i>Kokoona Zeylanica</i> (Willis)
116 Kōmarikā	Amilāto; Magāsahā (578)	<i>Anthocephalus Cadamba</i> (Attygalle)
117 Kombu	Atimuttako; Tiniso (555)	<i>Adina cordifolia</i> (Willis)
118 Konda	Kundam; Māghyam (578)	<i>Nauclea Orientalis</i> (Subhuti)
119 Kos	Karaṇṭakī-phalo; Panaso (569)	<i>Nauclea Cadamba</i> (Childers)
120 Kota-dimbula	Kākodumbarikā; Pheggū (572)	<i>Citrullus vulgaris</i> (Childers)
121 Kottamba	(see <i>Velanguna</i> )	<i>Aloe indica</i>
122 Kukurumuvan	Madano; Sallo (567.1131)	<i>Dalbergia Ougeinensis</i> (Childers)
		<i>Jasminum multiflorum</i>
		<i>Artocarpus integrifolia</i>
		<i>Ficus hispida</i> (Willis)
		<i>Vangueria spinosa</i> (Childers)
		<i>Randia dumetorum</i> (Willis)

15. Dr. Attygalle, who gives this name for the *Kesel* at p. 169 of his *Materia Medica*, has *Musa sapientum* at p. 191.16. The Sinhalese name for this, according to Willis, is *Diya-embul-embiliya*. Childers describes *Marsilia quadrifolia* as "a pot-herb."Dr. Attygalle, failing to find a genus of the name of *Marsilia quadrifolia* in Trimen's list of Ceylon plants or in Dr. Dymceh's *Pharmacographia Indica*, identifies *Sunisannakam* with *Sudu-kimbul-renna*, which, however, is *Polygonum tomentosum*.17. Clough has "*Galuci*, holy basil, (*Ocimum Sanctum*, Sinh. *Maduru-tala*), also *Terminalia citrina*."18. *Buchanania latifolia* (which is the name given by Clough for the *Kiri-palu*) appears elsewhere for the *Piyal*.19. Willis has *Kokoona zeylanica* for *Kokum* or *Vana-potu*.

Sinhalese Name	Pali Name.	Botanical Name.
Kulal-bata	.. ( see Bata ) ..	
123 Kulu-réna <sup>20</sup> [ or Katu-karósana ]	.. Katuka; Katukarohini (582)..	<i>Picrorhiza Kurrooa</i>
124 Kumbuk	.. Ajjuno; Kakudho (562) ..	<i>Terminalia Arjuna</i> (Childers) <i>Terminalia glabra</i> (Willis)
125 Kura, Maha-	.. Vatthulam; Vatthuleyyako (597)..	<i>Chenopodium album</i> (Childers)
126 Kura <sup>21</sup> , Sulu- [ or Kuratampala ]	.. Appamariso; Tanduleyyo (594, 1132) }	<i>Amaranthus polygamus</i> (Subhuti) <i>Amarantus viridis vel</i> (Willis, <i>Amaranthus polygonoides</i> } Attygalle)
Kusa-tana	.. ( see Tana ) ..	
127 Labu [ or Diya-labu ]	.. Alábu; Lábu; Tumbi (596) ..	<i>Lagenaria vulgaris</i>
Lapnaran	.. ( see Naran ) ..	
128 Lihila-kola	.. Jhajjhari (598) ..	?
129 Liyanangala [ or Niyangala ]	.. Lāṅgali; Sīradī (588) ..	<i>Gloriosa superba</i>
130 Lolu	.. Bahuvārako; Selú (558) ..	<i>Cordia Myxa</i>
131 Lot [ or Lotsumbulu ]	.. Gálavo; Loddo (556) ..	<i>Symplocos racemosa</i>
132 Lot, Rat-	.. Lākhāpasādano; Paṭṭi (564)..	(A variety of Lot)
133 Lūnu, Hela- (or Sudu-)	.. Lasunam; Mahākando (595)..	<i>Allium sativum</i>
134 Lūnu, Ratu-	.. Palanḍu; Sukandako (595) ..	<i>Allium rubrum</i>
135 Lūnu-varana	.. Kareri; Varano (553) }	<i>Crataeva religiosa</i> (Attygalle) <i>Crataeva Roxburghii</i> } (Childers) <i>Capparis trifoliata</i> }
136 Madata <sup>22</sup>	.. Khurako; Tilako (561) ..	?
137 Madata, Vel- [ or Mānda-madini-vel or Yogana-vel ]	.. Mañjittā; Vikasā (582) ..	<i>Rubia tinctorium</i> (vel <i>cordifolia</i> ) <sup>23</sup>
138 Madatiya	.. Māsako (479) ..	<i>Adenanthera pavonina</i>
Magul-karanda	.. ( see Karanda ) ..	
Maha-debara	.. ( see Debara ) ..	
Maha-karamba	.. ( see Karamba ) ..	
Maha-nuga	.. ( see Nuga ) ..	
139 Mahari	.. Bhaṇḍilo; Siriso (571) ..	<i>Acacia Sirisa</i> (Childers)
140 Malyitta	.. Aggijālā; Dhātaki (589) }	<i>Woodfordia floribunda</i> (Willis) <i>Grislea tomentosa</i> (Childers) <i>Lythrum fruticosum</i> (Subhuti)
Mānda-madini-vel	.. ( see Madata ) ..	
Manel	.. ( see Upul ) ..	
Masan	.. ( see Debara ) ..	

20. Other Sinhalese names for *Kulurena* are *Katurana* and *Katukarósana*.

21. Dr. Attygalle says that *Maha-kura* and *sulu-kura* are also names for *Pita-sudu-kola* and *Pita-sudu-pala* (*Boerhaavia repens* or *diffusa*), q.v.

22. Is this the *Madatiya* for which Willis gives *Adenanthera pavonina*?

23. Other Sinhalese names for the *Vel-madata* are, according to Willis, *Mānda-madini-vel* and *Yogana-vel*.

Sinhalese Name.	Pali Name.	Botanical Name.
141 <b>Mi</b> ..	Madhuddumo; Madhuko (554)	<i>Bassia longifolia</i>
<b>Mi-amba</b> ..	( see <b>Amba</b> ) ..	
142 <b>Midella</b> [or <b>Ela-midella</b> ] ..	Mucalindo ; Niculo ; Nipo (563) ..	<i>Barringtonia acutangula</i>
143 <b>Midi-vel</b> [or <b>Mudrappalam</b> ] ..	Madhurasá; Muddiká (587) ..	<i>Vitis vinifera</i>
<b>Miris</b> ..	( see <b>Gam-miris-vel</b> ) ..	
144 <b>Mora</b> [ or <b>Rasa-mora</b> ] ..	Madhurasá <sup>24</sup> ; Mubbá (581) {	<i>Nephelium Longana</i> (Willis) <i>Sansevieria Roxburghiana</i> (Childers)
<b>Mudrappalam</b> ..	( see <b>Midi-vel</b> ) ..	
<b>Múdu-keyiya</b> ..	( see <b>Veta-keyiya</b> ) ..	
145 <b>Muhuna-mal</b> [ or <b>Múna-mala</b> ] ..	Kesaro; Vakulo (572) ..	<i>Mimusops Elengi</i>
<b>Múla-palá</b> ..	( see <b>Palá</b> ) ..	
146 <b>Mun, Undu, etc.</b> ..	Aparannam <sup>25</sup> (450) ..	( <i>Phaseolus</i> )
<b>Múna-mala</b> ..	( see <b>Muhuna-mal</b> ) ..	
147 <b>Murunga</b> ..	Siggu; Sobhañjano (554) {	<i>Moringa pterygosperma</i> (Willis) <i>Hyperanthera Moringa</i> (Childers)
148 <b>Muruva</b> ..	Phanijjako; Samirano (579) ..	?
149 <b>Ná</b> ..	Nágamálíká; Nágo (572) ..	<i>Mesua ferrea</i>
150 <b>Náran</b> [ or <b>Dodan</b> ] ..	Erávato; Nárango (560) {	<i>Citrus Aurantium</i> <i>Citrus limonum</i> (Le Goc)
151 <b>Náram, Lap-</b> ..	Bijápuro; Mátulungo (577) ..	<i>Citrus Medica</i>
152 <b>Nelli</b> ..	Amatá; Malaki (569) ..	<i>Phyllanthus Emblica</i>
<b>Nelum</b> ..	( see <b>Padma</b> ) ..	
153 <b>Nika</b> [ or <b>Nil-nika</b> or <b>Sudu-nika</b> ] ..	Niggunḍi; Sinduvāro (574) ..	<i>Vitex Negundo</i>
<b>Nil-avari</b> ..	( see <b>Beru</b> ) ..	
<b>Nil-katarolu</b> ..	( see <b>Katarolu</b> ) ..	
<b>Nilotpala</b> ..	( see <b>Upul</b> ) ..	
<b>Nil-upul</b> ..	( see <b>Upul</b> ) ..	
<b>Nitul</b> ..	( see <b>Rat-nitul</b> ) ..	
<b>Niyangala</b> ..	( see <b>Liyanangalá</b> ) ..	
154 <b>Nuga</b> [or <b>Maha-nuga</b> ] ..	Nigrodho; Váto (551.1042) ..	<i>Ficus benghalensis</i>
<b>Olinda</b> ..	( see <b>Hunida</b> ) ..	
<b>Olu</b> ..	( see <b>Upul</b> ) ..	
155 <b>Osabiya</b> <sup>26</sup> [or <b>Van-epalaya</b> or <b>Adatoda</b> or <b>Agaladhara</b> or <b>Vetahira</b> ] ..	Singí; Usabho (590) ..	<i>Adhatoda Vasica</i>

24. The *Abhidhanappadipika* gives another Pali name for the *Mora*, viz., *Munda* which the commentator renders to "Mubba." The latter, according to Childers, is *Sansevieria Zeylanica* which Willis gives for the Sinhalese *Niyandā*, Tamil *Maral*.

25. Subhuvitrā translates, or rather describes, *Aparannam* by "mun, undu etc.," and Childers says it is a name given to certain sorts of vegetables which the *Pratanoksha Vāra* (87) tells us are *inter alia* the following:—

Mugga	—	Mun [ <i>Phaseolus mungo</i> (max)]
Masa	—	Undu ( " <i>radiatus</i> )
Tila	—	?
Kulaththa	—	Kollu ( <i>Dolichos uniflorus</i> )
Alabu	—	( <i>Lagenaria vulgaris</i> )
Kumbhanda	—	Komadu ( <i>Citrullus vulgaris</i> .)

26. *Van-epalaya* according to the commentator, Willis gives *Van-epala* as an alternative name to *Agaladhara* (*Adhatoda Vasica*.)



Sinhalese Name.	Pali Name.	Botanical Name.
156 Padma [or Nelum]	Aravindam; Bhisapuppham; Kamalam; Kusesayam; Muḷālapuppham; Nalina; Padumam; Pankeruham; Pokkharām; Saroruham; Satapattam; Vārijam (684—685).	<i>Nelumbium speciosum</i>
157 Palā, Mūla- [or Rābu]	Cuccū; Mūlako (598)	<i>Raphanus sativus</i>
158 Palā, Tam-	Tambako (598)	{ <i>Amarantus oleraceus</i> (Willis) <i>Nothosaerua brachiata</i> (Attygalle, Willis)
159 Palā, Vila-	Kalambako (598)	.. (A kind of pot-herb)
160 Palol, Ela-	Kaṇhavaṇṭā; Pātali (559)	{ <i>Stereospermum suaveolens</i> (Willis) <i>Bignonia suaveolens</i> (Childers)
161 Palol, Val-	Golišo; Jhātalo (563)	.. ?
162 Palu	Guḷaphalo; Pīlu (554)	{ <i>Careya arborea</i> <sup>27</sup> (Childers) <i>Mimusops hexandra</i> (Willis)
Patōla	.. (see Dummella)	..
Patuk	.. (see Uk )	..
163 Penela <sup>28</sup>	Ariṭṭho; Phenilo (555)	{ <i>Sapindus emarginatus</i> (Willis) <i>Saponidus Saponaria</i> (vel <i>detergens</i> ) (Childers) <i>Sapindus trifolius</i> (Attygalle)
Pengiri	.. ( see Tana )	..
Peti-tōra	.. ( see Tuvara )	..
164 Phalapakantalata	Osadhī (592)	.. ? <i>Daemia Extensa</i> <sup>29</sup>
Pichcha	.. ( see Bolidda )	..
165 Pichula	Jhāvuko; Piculo (561)	.. <i>Tamarix Indica</i> (Childers)
166 Pilila	Rukkhdani <sup>30</sup> ; Vandākā (580)	[ <i>Loranthus</i> ; <i>Viscum</i> ] (Willis)
Pita-sudu-kola (palā)	.. ( see Sulu-buruda )	..
167 Piya [or Asana]	Asano; Pitasālo; Piyako (563)	<i>Terminalia Alata Tomentosa</i>
168 Piyai	Piyālo; Sannakaddu (556)	.. <i>Buchanania latifolia</i>
169 Piyum, Ela-	Puṇḍarikam (686)	.. (White variety of <i>Nelumbium speciosum</i> )
170 Piyum, Rat-	Kokanadam; Kokāsako (686)	(Red " " "
171 Pol	Nālikerā (604)	.. <i>Cocos nucifera</i>
Pongu	.. ( see Puvangu )	..
172 Pulila [or Kalahā]	Pilakkho; Pipphalī (559)	.. <i>Ficus infectoria</i> <sup>31</sup> (Childers)
173 Pusvenna	Pañhipañni; Sihapucchi (584)	{ <i>Hemionitis Cordifolia</i> (Childers, Subhūti) <i>Uraria Logopoides</i> <i>Plectranthus</i> <i>Scutellaroides</i> } (Attygalle)

27. Willis gives *Cureya arborea* for Sinh Kahata.

28. Willis gives *Penela* for the following.—

[illegible]

*Sapindus Emarginatus.*

29. I am not at all sure that this is the correct Botanical name for the *Phalapākāntalātā* which Subhuti describes as "a deciduous plant." My only reason for suggesting it here, tentatively, is its resemblance, in name, to a plant whose Sanskrit name is *Phalakāntaka*. The Sinhalese name, however, for the latter is *Medahangu*.

30 This is described as "a parasitical plant."

31. *Ficus infectoria*, according to Willd., is the Sinhalese *Kelaha*.

Sinhalese Name.	Pali Name.	Botanical Name.
174 Puvak (Arecanut) ..	Kamuko; Púgo (602) ..	<i>Areca Catechu</i>
175 Puvak <sup>32</sup> (Indian Mulberry) ..	Kamuko ; Púgo (564) ..	? <i>Morus indica</i>
176 Puvangu [or Pongu] ..	Kangu (1055) ..	<i>Aglaiia Roxburghiana</i>
Ranvan-sandun ..	( see Sandun ) ..	..
Rasa-mora ..	( see Mora ) ..	..
Rat-kihiri ..	( see Kihiri ) ..	..
Rat-lot ..	( see Lot ) ..	..
177 Rat-nitul ..	Aggisaññito; Cittako (580) ..	{ <i>Plumbago rosea</i> (Willis) <i>Plumbago Zeylanica</i> <sup>33</sup> (Childers)
Rat-sandun ..	( see Sandun ) ..	..
Ratu-lúnu ..	( see Lúnu ) ..	..
178 Rukanguna [or Álangá] ..	Ankolo; Likocako (557) ..	{ <i>Alangium Hexapetalum</i> (Childers) <i>Alangium Lamarckii</i> (Willis, Attygalle) <i>Ipomaea Bona-nox</i> (Willis, Le Goc) <i>Alstonia scholaris</i> (Willis) <i>Echites scholaris</i> (Childers)
179 Ruk-attana ..	Chattapañño; Sattapañño (555) ..	{ <i>Alstonia scholaris</i> (Willis) <i>Echites scholaris</i> (Childers)
180 Ruk-buruda <sup>34</sup> [or Bhurjapatra] ..	Ábhuji; Bhújapatto (565) ..	<i>Betula utilis</i> (vel <i>Alnoides</i> )
181 Ruvara [or Úru-tóra] ..	Kásamadda (598) ..	{ <i>Cassia Sophora</i> (Willis, Attygalle) <i>Cassia Esculenta</i> (Subhúti)
182 Sádikka [or Jati-phala] ..	Játikoso; Játiphalam (304) ..	<i>Myristica fragrans</i>
183 Sal ..	Assakañño; Sajjo; Sáló (562) ..	<i>Shorea Robusta</i>
184 Sandun, Ranvan ..	Gosísam; Haricandanam; <sup>35</sup> Telapañnikam (301) ..	<i>Santalum album</i>
185 Sandun, Rat ..	Pattangam; Rañjanam; Rattacandanam; Tilapañni (301) ..	? <i>Pterocarpus Santalinus</i>
Sanni-náyan ..	( see Bodí-eta ) ..	..
Sapattu-mal ..	( see Vada ) ..	..
186 Sapu ..	Campako; Campeyyo (568) ..	<i>Michelia Champaca</i>
187 Sarala [or Hora] ..	Pùtikatttham; Saralo (306, 571) ..	{ <i>Pinus longifolia</i> (Childers) <i>Dipterocarpus Zeylanicus</i> (Willis)
Satpeti-désamam ..	( see Désamam ) ..	..
188 Sebo <sup>36</sup> [or Gas-karal-heba] ..	Apámaggo; Sekhariko (583) ..	<i>Achyranthes aspera</i>

32. The *Abhidhanappadipika* refers to the *Pugo* (S. *Purak*) at 564 and 602. At 564 the commentator tells us that the allusion is to "trees like the *Esitu*," i.e. *Ficus Religiosa*. The particular tree indicated here by "puvak" is probably the Indian mulberry (*Morus indica*).

33. *Plumbago Zeylanica* is however the *Elu-nitul*.

34. *Bhurjapatto*, according to Childers, is "the Bhojpatr tree, a kind of birch." The reference is to the Himalayan Birch, *Betula utilis* (*Betula alnoides*).

Dr. Attygalle (p 164) commenting on the name *Bhurjapatra*, says "It is the same name in Sinhalese, Tamil and Sanskrit and in fact in all the Indian languages." But we find from the *Abhidhanappadipika*, however, that there is another name in Sinhalese for the *Bhurjapatra*, and that is *Rukburuda*.

The *Bhurjapatra* or *Rukburuda* was used in the olden days to write books on like paper, the sheets being prepared from the inner bark of the tree. The Himalayas furnish a never-failing supply of *Bhurjapatra* and even now in Cashmere and other northern parts of India, *Bhurjapatra* is used to write upon instead of paper. The ink used for writing on *Bhurjapatra* is said to be prepared by converting almonds into charcoal and boiling this, powdered in cow's urine. The ink is not affected by damp or water.

35. According to the commentary

*Haricandanam* = *Ranvan Sandun*

*Gosisa*

*Telapañnika* } = *Helu Sandun*

36. The *Sebo* is what is today better known as *Gas-karal-heba*.

Sinhalese Name.	Pali Name.	Botanical Name.
189 Sema	.. Samí ; Sattuphalá (566)	.. <i>Acacia</i> (vel <i>Mimosa</i> ) <i>Suma</i> (Childers)
Sen-kottan	.. ( see Bandulu )	..
Sépáliká	.. ( see Kalumal-sepáliká )	..
Sevendará	.. ( see Tanamul )	..
190 Sibin-midi	.. Aggimantho ; Kaniká (574)	.. <i>Premna spinosa</i>
191 ? (Sikharí)	.. Sikharí (1114)	.. ?
192 Sínidda	.. Mágadhí ; Yúthiká (576)	.. [ ? <i>Jasminum auriculatum</i> ]
Siviya	.. ( see Vagapul )	..
193 Siyambalá	.. Ciñcá ; Tintini (562)	.. <i>Tamarindus indica</i>
194 ? ( Sono )	.. Soño (1119)	.. ?
Sudu-hítana	.. ( see Hítana )	..
Sudu-idda	.. ( see Velidda )	..
Sudu-lunu	.. ( see Lunu )	..
Sudu-nika	.. ( see Nika )	..
Sudu-trastavalu	.. ( see Trastavalu )	..
195 Sulu-buruda [or Pita-sudu-kola-palá]	.. Punannavá ; Sothaghátí (596)	{ <i>Boerhaavia repens</i> (vel <i>diffusa</i> ) <i>Boerhavia procumbens</i> (Childers)
Sulu-kúra	.. ( see Kúra )	..
Súriya	.. ( see Telasatu )	..
Suvanda-hota	.. ( see Tanamul )	..
196 Takul	.. Kolakam ; Kosaphalam ; Takkolam (304) ..	? (Bdellium)
197 Tal	.. Tálo ; Vibhediká (603)	.. <i>Borassus flabellifer</i>
198 Tala	.. Tálí (604)	.. <i>Corypha umbraculifera</i>
199 Tamalu-hokasata <sup>37</sup>	.. Tamálo ; Tápiñcho (573)	.. <i>Xanthochymus pictorius</i> (Childers)
Tam-palá	.. ( see Palá )	..
200 Tana [or Tana-hal]	.. Kangu ; Piyangu (451.452. 571.1055)	{ <i>Setaria intermedia</i> (Attygalle) <i>Setaria italica</i> (Willis)
201 Tanamul, Babus [or Sevendara or Suvanda- hota] ..	.. Birañam ; Usíram (601)	{ <i>Andropogon muricatum</i> (Childers) <i>Andropogon squarrosus</i> <i>Vetiveria Zizanioides</i> } (Willis)
202 Tana, Gandhaketa- [or Pengiri]	.. Bhútiñakam ; Bhútiñam (602)	{ <i>Andropogon Schœnanthus</i> (Childers) <i>Cymbopogon Schœnanthus</i>
203 Tana, Kusa-	.. Barihisam ; Dabbho ; Kuso (602. 1079) ..	<i>Poa Cynosuroides</i> (Childers) <i>Eragrostis Cynosuroides</i>
204 ? (Ghásó, Yavaso)	.. Ghásó ; Yavaso <sup>38</sup> (602)	.. (Meadow grass)
Tebu	.. ( see Upul-kola )	..
205 Telasatu [or Súriya]	.. Gaddabhañḍo ; Kapítano (562)	<i>Thespesia populneoides</i> (Childers)

37. Is this the same as *Kona-goriki* (*Garcinia morella*), the Sanskrit name for which is *Tamala*?

38. Subbuti describes *Yavaso* as "a kind of grass," "meadow grass," but its exact Sinhalese name I have failed to find out.

Sinhalese Name.	Pali Name.	Botanical Name.
206 Timbiri	{ Kálakkhandho ; Timbarú ; Timbarúsako ; Tinduko(560) }	<i>Diospyros embryopteris</i>
207 Timbiri, Kavudu-	.. Kákatinduko ; Kulako (560) ..	<i>Diospyros tomentosa</i> (Childers)
Tippili	.. ( see Vagapul ) ..	
208 Titinga	.. Takkári ; Vejayantiká (573) ..	<i>Sesbania aegyptiaca</i>
209 Tiyyambará	.. Indaváruni ; Visálá (597) ..	<i>Cucumis colocynthis</i> <sup>39</sup> (Childers)
Tora, Peti-	.. ( see Tuvara ) ..	
Tóra, Úru-	.. ( see Ruvara ) ..	
210 Totila	.. Dighavaṇṇo ; Sonako (572) {	<i>Oroxylum indicum</i> (Willis) <i>Calosanthus indica</i> (Childers) <i>Bignonia indica</i> (Subhuti)
211 Trastaválu, Kalu- <sup>40</sup>	.. Tipuṭá ; Tivutá (590) }	<i>Ipomœa Turpethum</i> (Willis)
212 Trastaválu, Sudu (Ela)	.. Kálá ; Sámá (590) }	<i>Convolvulus Turpethum</i> (Childers)
213 Turuk-tel	.. Piṇḍako ; Turukkho (302) ..	? (Incense)
214 Tuvara [or Peti-tóra <sup>41</sup> ]	.. Eḷagalo ; Papunnágó (594) ..	<i>Cassia Tora</i>
Udumbara	.. ( see Dimbul ) ..	
Uguressa	.. ( see Katukihiri ) ..	
215 Uk	.. Rasálo ; Úcchu (462, 599, 1088)	<i>Saccharum Officinarum</i>
216 Uk [or Patuk]	.. Mahánámo ; Nuhí (587) ..	<i>Euphorbia nerifolia</i>
Una	.. ( see Huna ) ..	
Undu	.. ( see Mun ) ..	
217 Upul	.. Kuvalayam ; Uppalam (688) ..	? (Any water lily)
218 Upul, Ela-or Hela-	.. Kumudam (688) ..	<i>Nymphaea Lotus</i>
[or Olu or Et-olu]		
219 Upul, Nii-	.. Indívaram (688) ..	<i>Nymphaea stellata</i>
[or Manel]		
220 Upul-kola <sup>42</sup> [or Tebu]	.. Ajapálakam ; Kutṭham ; Vyádhi (303, 592, 1120) ..	<i>Costus speciosus</i> (Childers)
Úru-tóra	.. ( see Ruvara ) ..	
221 Úru-vi	.. Ríváro (451) ..	<i>Oryza sativa</i>
222 Vada <sup>43</sup>	.. Japá ; Jívasumanam (580) ..	<i>Hibiscus Rosasinensis</i>
[or Baduvada or Sapattu-mal]		
223 Vadakasa	.. Golomí ; Vacá (584) ..	<i>Acorus calamus</i>
224 Vagapul [or Tippili]	.. Mágadhi ; Pipphali (583) ..	<i>Piper longum</i>
225 Vagapul, Et- [or Siviya]	.. Ibhapippali ; Kolavalli(583) ..	<i>Piper chaba</i>
Vai-amba	.. ( see Amba ) ..	
226 Valanga-sal	.. Citratandulá ; Viḷangam (586) ..	<i>Erycibe paniculata</i> <sup>44</sup> (Childers)
[or Etambiriya]		

39. Childers describes this as "the bitter apple."

40. The commentary has "Kalu-kemmeriya." Is this the same as *Kalu-kan-veriya* (*Solanum nigrum*) of Willis?41. For the *Peti-tóra* Dr. Attygalle gives *Cassia occidentalis* which, according to Willis, is *Pentstemon*.42. *Costus speciosus* is *Tebu* according to Willis.43. *Vada-mal* is another name for the *Sapattu-mal* (also called *Badu-vada*) *Hibiscus Rosasinensis*.The *Abhidhanappadipika* gives also the reading of "Jayasum nan," which is a synonym of *Bandukula* (Sinhalese *Banduvada*).*Pentstemon phoeniceus*.44. According to Willis, however, *Erycibe paniculata* is *Etu-miriya* or *Etambiriya*. Is this really another name for *Valanga-sal*?

Sinhalese Name.	Pali Name	Botanical Name.
Val-erabadu	.. ( see Erabadu )	
Val-palol	.. ( see Palol )	..
Vam-batu	.. ( see Batu )	..
227 Vammutu	.. Bhaddamuttam ; Gundá (599)	<i>Cyperus pertenuis</i> (Childers)
Vanduru-mé	.. ( see Kasambiliya )	..
Van-epalaya	.. ( see Osabiya )	..
228 Vanu-vel [or Veni-vel or Bangeta]	.. Dábbi ; Dáruhaliddá (586)	.. <i>Coscinium fenestratum</i>
229 Vara	.. Akko ; Vikirano (581.1102)	{ <i>Calotropis gigantea</i> (Willis) <i>Asclepias gigantea</i> (Childers)
230 Vará, Ela-	.. Alakko (581)	.. (White variety of Vará)
231 Velanguna [or Kottambá]	.. Inḡudí ; Tápasataru (565)	.. <i>Terminalia catappa</i>
232 Velidda [or Sudu-idda]	.. Appotá ; Vana-malliká (575)	.. <i>Wrightia Zeylanica</i> <sup>45</sup>
Vel-kasambiliya	.. ( see Kasambiliya )	..
Vel-madata	.. ( see Madata )	..
233 Vel-mí	.. Madhukam ; Madhulaṭṭhiká ; Yatṭhimadhuká (587)	.. <i>Glycyrrhiza glabra</i>
234 Veluk	.. Galo ; Káso (610.1125)	.. <i>Saccharum spontaneum</i>
Veni-vel	.. ( see Vanu-vel )	..
Vetahira	.. ( see Osabiya )	..
235 Veta-keyiyá [or Mudu-keyiyá]	.. Ketaki (604)	.. <i>Pandanus odoratissimus</i>
Vé-vel	.. ( see Homuvangu )	..
Vila-palá	.. ( see Palá )	..
Yogana-vel	.. ( see Madata )	..
236 Yohombu	.. Atimutto ; Vāsantí (577)	.. <i>Gaertnera racemosa</i>

45. A wild variety of *Bolidda* (*Jasminum Sambac.*)

## SINHALESE AND THE ARYAN LANGUAGES.

By M. H. KANTAWALA, C.C.S.

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**M**UDALIYAR W. F. Gunawardhana, in his recent essay <sup>1</sup> on "The Aryan Question in relation to India" before the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, has propounded some startling theories which are rich in fine imagery but fail to convince. He gives no data and supplies no proof; his dogmatic assertions can have, therefore, hardly any intrinsic value.

The only theory of his with which we are concerned in this article and to which I take special exception is as follows;—

"In the basic principles of their grammar, the Sinhalese are Dravidian: in grammatical flexion and vocabulary which form the superstructure of the language, they are Aryan."

I confess to some difficulty in understanding his meaning; he pretends to convey—none the less—that, bereft of the Aryan superstructure, the Sinhalese language is purely and entirely Dravidian. Either the learned scholar lacks a knowledge of the Aryan languages; or, if he does not, he hardly seems to have made a comparative study which would have at once shown him where his mistake lay.

Rev. S. G. Perera, in his excellent article on "Hindustanee and Sinhalese" <sup>2</sup> gives numerous illustrations to show the affinity between the two languages. He says:

"What is interesting to the scholar is the similarity in the words derived from Prakrit for it goes to confirm the now generally accepted opinion that Sinhalese belongs to the North India stock of Aryan Languages."

Even Mudaliyar Mendis Gunasekara, in his comprehensive Grammar, formulates the view that "modern Elu (meaning Sinhalese) is a development of the language brought over by Vijaya, the first historical King of Ceylon, and his retinue who made it the vernacular of the land; . . . . . the language spoken by them was undoubtedly Prakrit." <sup>3</sup> And he goes on to trace the relationship by a number of examples.

It is doubtful if these resemblances could be merely superficial. At any rate, I fail to see how the basic principles of the Sinhalese Grammar can be called Dravidian. In my opinion, the Sinhalese language belongs purely to the Aryan Stock but has received slight touches of Dravidian tinge, mainly through the juxtaposition and intermingling of the two races. The language that was spoken in Ceylon before Vijaya landed was the primitive Vedda tongue which was probably Dravidian; and the language which was brought over by the Tamil kings and their followers was also Dravidian. Can there be any wonder, then, that the unavoidable admixture of the two gave birth to modern Sinhalese with an unmistakably Aryan structure and but a few superimposed alien elements?

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1. *Times of Ceylon*, June 23, 1921, p. 10.

2. *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 110 *et seq.*

3. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the Sinhalese Language*, by A. M. Gunasekara, pp. 347 and 348.

To understand thoroughly the relation of Sinhalese to its sister languages, one must not forget the relation of the Dravidian to the Sanskrit tongues. The Dravidian stock is admittedly the older one ; and there is therefore bound to be a deep rooted—though not easily perceptible—similarity in its basic principles to those of the Aryan Stock. It is conceivable, then, that a part of the resemblance between the modern Dravidian and modern Aryan languages can be traced to this original relationship between the parent tongues.

The modern Sinhalese alphabet, derived from Pali as it is, is purely Aryan : even the script in its rounded or globular characters, in its formation of compound or conjoint letters, and in its adoption of the *Anusvar* for the nasal consonants, shows well marked consanguinity to the *Devanagari* rather than to the linear or parallelogrammic formations of Tamil. Indeed, in the latter, the three intervening letters in each of the five classes—Gutturals, Palatals, Linguals, Dentals, and Labials—are missing ; and we find three extra consonants \* which are non-existent in the Sinhalese or other Aryan languages. The paucity of consonants reflects itself in the harsh queerness of Dravidian pronunciation and contrasts favourably with the melodious Aryan accent of Sinhalese.

It would be unnecessary to trouble the reader at present with a comparative vocabulary of Sinhalese and Indian words : Rev. Father Perera has given a small list. An endeavour will be made to reproduce in its proper place an exhaustive catalogue tracing the majority of Sinhalese words to some Indian language. It may nevertheless be here mentioned that anyone well-acquainted with the dialects of the northern portion of the Indian Peninsula will be especially struck with the resemblance between Gujarati and Sinhalese more than between Sinhalese and any other Indian language. The reason is of course obvious. Gujarati, in my opinion, is more closely allied to Prakrit than the rest of the Sanskrit stock—and has preserved, without co-mixture, more words of pure Prakritic descent. It is, therefore, not unlikely that Sinhalese, which was separated from the rest of the Aryan languages by a wide tract of Dravidian speaking races and which consequently failed to respond to the varying fluctuations of philological evolution, preserved in their nascent forms those Prakrit features which are still the backbone of the Bombay tongue.

Be it as it may, I cannot refrain from briefly alluding to the grammar and idiom of the Sinhalese language. The Sinhalese Grammar is out and out Aryan ; in fact the fundametal principles of any of the branches of the latter can, *mutatis mutandis*, be applied with impunity to the former. This community is so well pronounced that it is impossible to be particularised within the confines of a short article. The very syntax, the formation of compounds, the casual declensions of nouns and pronouns, the pronominal concord, the verbal inflexions, the formation of causative from a simple verb by the addition of a medial ට<sup>4</sup>, the use of a perfect participle instead of a compound sentence to denote continuity of action<sup>5</sup>, the case relationship between prepositions and the nouns they govern—these and many more are so strikingly Indian that they cannot fail to be observed by even a superficial dabbler. Sinhalese has, however, discarded the gender of inanimate or irrational nouns ; verbs or adjectives are consequently indeclinable. This is certainly abnormal, but the Sinhalese have a tendency to adopt an Esperanto-wise simplicity of speech which has resulted, for instance, in their dispensing with the verbal inflections in colloquial usage !

It is the idiom, however, of a language which is the safest criterion for determining its parentage ; idioms are symbolic of long-established usage and mirror the parallel development of

4. Viz. ට. ඳ and ධ.

5. e.g. කරනවා : කරවෙනවා. Cf. කරවු : කරවෙවු in Gujarati and කරवा : करवा in Hindi.

6. e.g. මම නැලා ගියා, Cf. நான் නැலா ගියேன்.

sister tongues. They, unlike words, can never be coined in a hurry; they must appeal to the very feelings of the masses—must possess a facility of expression or an ease of diction—must be conveniently adaptable to the changing conditions of succeeding ages. Or else, they are short-lived—are doomed to oblivion—and fail to pass into currency. Idioms, if transliterated into another language, defeat their object and do not survive: they cannot be grafted; they must grow *in situ*. It follows, therefore, that the simultaneous co-existence of a majority of idioms among two different languages cannot be relegated to different origins, but must be traced back to the same parental growth where they were nursed and fostered, to be handed down to posterity in the forms best suited to each.

As this branch of the subject has not been touched upon by previous writers, I shall here give a few illustrations to explain my meaning: "I have a book" is translated in Sinhalese by මට පොතක් තිබේ, which is an exactly verbatim version of the Indian idiom. Beating or assault is regarded as "capable of consumption" alike in Sinhalese, Hindustani, Marathi, Gujarati and Bengalee, e.g. මම ගැහුම් කෑවා. When an action about to be completed is suddenly put a stop to—the principal verb denoting the action is converted into a gerund and the various forms of "to go" are applied to it: e.g., මම වැටෙන්නට ගියා, "I narrowly fell" (lit. "I went to fall.")<sup>7</sup> This prevails in North India.

A number of idiomatic phrases formed either by the reduplication of the same or a similar word or by the reiteration or antithesis of the same or a similar notion are common to the Sinhalese and Aryan languages. I subjoin a tentatively small list for the sake of illustration:—

- පඩි නඩි (Salary).
- මිල මුදල් (Money),
- හොඳ නරක (Good or Bad)
- ඉඳුම් හිටුම් (Lodgings)
- අහල පහල (Neighbours)
- අඩු පාඩු (Deficiency)

and so forth.

The verbal roots කර and වෙ very often serve as auxiliaries and form compound verbs by suffixion to other parts of speech. The resulting verb connotes no different meaning than the latter but makes them 'actionable'—thus affording a rough and ready mode of expression: e.g. මතක්කරණවා, හිල්කරණවා, කරාකරණවා, ඇතුල් වෙන්නවා, නග් වෙන්නවා, etc. All those nouns and adjectives which thus go into union with these pseudo-auxiliaries unite in the same fashion with the same roots in the sister tongues. Nay, the very limited use of ගන්නවා and ගන්නවා as such auxiliaries<sup>8</sup> can be traced to the Indian languages: just as the expressions නිද් ගන්නවා and පිට දමන්නවා would be, after translation, excellent Indian idioms.

It would be certainly tiresome, if not pedantic, to multiply instances to prove the same fact. They all point to a pronounced akin-ness of thought and speech—a determined similarity in the root structure of all the Aryan languages—an underlying unity in their basic principles.

Sinhalese, then, is but an outlandish ramification of the parent Prakrit stock—alienated from the *Mula-Gedara*<sup>9</sup> for over a score of centuries and possessing therefore prominent features of its own individual development, hybridised by a few spurious or adventitious outgrowths from its encroaching neighbours.<sup>10</sup>

(To be Continued.)

7. ලග්නි is sometimes used similarly in a futuristic sense: e.g. මැරෙන්නට ලග්නි ("about to die"). The Hindustani *laghni* is often similarly employed.

8. e.g. අවිච්ඡින්නවා, පිළිවිච්ඡින්නවා, ඉඳුන්නවා, etc.

9. Parental home.

10. The reader might, with advantage, study the famous essay by Geiger entitled "*Literatur und Sprache der Sinhalese*" where he opines that Sinhalese is "a pure Aryan dialect."



## KANDYAN NOTES.

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(Continued from Vol. VI., Page 190.)

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired.)

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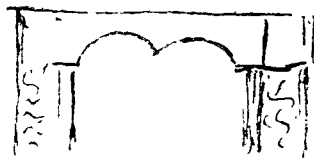
### SOME KANDYAN TEMPLES.

THESE notes are concerned with some of the less-known Buddhist temples of the Kandy District, and some others. The descriptions may seem obvious and common-place to those who are well acquainted with them; but, except to the villagers who frequent them, these shrines, their sites, histories and traditions are practically unknown. Yet these are perhaps of sufficient interest to warrant some account of them appearing for the first time in print. Some of the notes are imperfect in that they omit particulars on certain points such as the interiors of the buildings, but the explanation is that I failed at the time to make a record of them.

*Diyakelināwala Vihāré* in Yatinuwara is prettily situated at the foot of a hill over which the path goes to Gannoruwa, on a flat piece of ground which is separated from a paddy-field by a stream which just here breaks from its even flow into a miniature water-fall. The temple therefore is perpetually within the sound of running water, hence the picturesque name of the place, "the hole where there is playing water," which I was told was a way of saying that it is a bathing place. My own idea, however, is that it is a poetic reference to the small water-fall.

Here, up against a sloping rock, a short distance from the end of the Dodanwala avenue of *ná* (*Mesua ferrea*) trees, there has been built a Vihāré with four chambers, sloping. The roof of rock has been supplemented by a verandah with a wooden roof which rests on the rock. In the rock immediately above the line of roof, a gutter has been cut to keep the water off it.

The largest of the four chambers contains a recumbent figure of Buddha made of clay and 12 "carpenter's cubits" in length. It has a double-arched stone door-way.—



The stone support on each side has carving of the "creeper" pattern, and there are *doratu pāla* or janitors, one on each side. On the wall, both inside and out, are painted scenes from the *Vessantara Jātakaya*.

The next chamber is very small, and has a carved wooden-door with a single arch. It contains a sedent-Buddha about three feet high under a *makara torana*.

The third chamber has three sedent Buddhas, 3 feet high, the central figure under a cobra canopy.

The fourth chamber has also three sedent Buddhas of about the same height as the last three, the centre one under a *makara torana*. The ceiling is painted in patchwork style, like that of a quilt, and this has recently been renewed. This chamber has a double-arched stone doorway plainer than that of the first chamber. It contains a tall *bānkuwa*, and a pillar turned like one at the Kandy Museum; also a large *pātteré* (bowl) about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet in diameter.

The outer door of the Vihāré is wooden and triple-arched. Outside is a small dagoba. Eight Bandāras became demons (*yak unā*) here and lived at this place.

**Talāva Vihāré**, near Meruppe in Lower Hewaheta, is picturesquely situated on a walled plateau above a stream. Outside this wall a *bó* (*Ficus religiosa*) tree stands sentinel.

It is a rectangular building with a good Kandyan tiled roof which is crowned by *koṭ* at both ends. The *pekadas* are painted red, white and two shades of blue. The verandah was supported by carved wooden pillars, but a corner wall at each end has recently been built to take the place of these. This of course is not an improvement except from the point of view of stability. There are besides two pillars of that classical type which was introduced into Ceylon at the British occupation—really a reminiscence of bungalows in India. The *goṇes* capitals of the Kandyan pillars are of *gammala* wood (*Pterocarpus marsupium*)—the best wood for carving.

The outer vestibule, or *hewāwisi mandapé*, has been built out of the remains of the *wahalakaḍa* and the wooden pillars that supported the roof.

Framing the inner door are two ivory borders of leaf pattern and two outer strips, four over the door. The whole *uluwassa* was brought from Hanguranketa Māligāwa. There are strips of ivory all over the door dividing the compartments. The *liyawilla* is a *latā rūpé*.

The Vihāré contains a stone sedent Buddha. The *makara torana* over the figure is supported by lions, not by dancing girls, as is usual. This image has yellow robes, whereas the standing Buddhas, one on each side, have red robes. The wall behind the figures is very handsomely painted with lotus flowers on stalks in low relief.

On the ceiling of the ante-chamber is painted "the Great War"—the *Maha Yuddha*. There are flags depicted displaying the heads of elephants, boars and birds. This ceiling has been repainted. There is also a picture of King Kīrti Sri, in whose reign the temple was built.

The *Vessantara Jātakaya* and a portion of the *Sivī Jātakaya* which adorn the walls have also been repainted in their former style. This was very well done by Low-country painters in 1880. On the left is the *Temīya Jātakaya* as also "the ten former Buddhas" (*dasa Buddhun*) in their different states, alternately on each side.

There are besides paintings of "Kosala Maha Rajjuruwó," Vishnu (in blue) and Nata, all represented as Kandyan or Sinhalese kings without extra arms, etc., as in Hindu temples.

There is a copper bowl standing on a three-legged stool (*bānkuwa*), both good specimens of their kinds.

There is a *pansala* here very similar to the one at Huduhumpola, Kandy, but on a smaller scale. Unfortunately it has been modernized.

#### **Pusulpitiya Vihāré**

in Upper Bulatgama is said to have been the dwelling place of a *rahat* from Malwar in India. Yaturugehuliyadda, the site of another *Vihāré* in this division, derives its name from the fact that a winnow was thrown on to a threshing floor there by King Dutugemunu who owned the place. And on the site of Dimbula Vihāré, a Rahat rested under a *dimbul tree* (*Feronia elephantum*).

### Kiri Viharé

at Wéndaruwa in Lower Dumbara. This is a rectangular Kandyan building, with a verandah supported by 16 plain wooden pillars at equal intervals, 6 on each side and 2 at each end. They have *pekadas* at the top and bottom. The Viharé contains a sedent Buddha, and two standing Buddhas. The *Vessantara Játakaya* is painted on the walls. This appears to be the favourite *Játakaya* for the decoration of temples.

### Arattana Viharé

in Upper Hewaheta. Just before reaching Hanguranketa, on the way up from Kandy, this Viharé is passed on the right, below the road.

The *Pansala* has two old carved pillars and two old windows, one of each of the Kandyan types; but unfortunately the pillars, windows and stone lions have been painted a colour of the same hue as "Reckitt's Blue." The Viharé was founded by King Valagam Báhu. The bell given by King Kírti Sri was stolen "about 25 years" ago. [This information was given me in 1909.] A part of the bell was found in the jungle near the 16th milestone. There is a *póya-gé*.

### Aludeniya Viharé

in Udu Nuwara. According to tradition, this temple was founded by Máyin Bandára in the time of King Bhuvaneka Báhu IV, who reigned at Gampola, A.D. 1346—1350.

There is another tradition that, during the reign of the same King, Chandrajoti Isthawirayo, a member of the royal family who had become a Buddhist monk (*rájáwansayek mahanawa síti*), went on a long journey, and when he was returning he got benighted at this village, which was then inhabited by people of the *chálíyá* caste. Owing to the inhospitality of the villagers he had to pass the night in a cave there. On arriving at Gampola he reported this behaviour of theirs to the King. The King visited his displeasure on them by driving them out of the village to Sélawa in Four Korales. Further he built the present Viharé, gave a gold image of Buddha to it, and dedicated the lands of the late inhabitants of the village to the upkeep of the temple.

### Selláwali Viharé,

Haloluwa Pallegama, Harispattu, next to the village Dulwala, was built by Selláwali Dewi, niece of King Sri Vikrama Rája Sinha's brother-in-law, Kuttináyaka Deviyó. It contains a recumbent figure of Buddha.

### Other Viharés.

The following are the dates or periods of the founding of some of the older temples in this division.

Kiriuda is of the same date as Lankatilaka, viz. 1344 A.D. The original temple was built by Lankadhikára Senevirat, and a new one in 1795.

Niyamgampaya was built by Jayamála Sitáno in 1378.

Walahagoda by King Bhuvaneka Báhu IV. in 1347.

Polwatta Viharé in 1690.

Giriulla Viharé in 1790.

Hindagalla Viharé by King Kírti Sri in 1755.

Ganegoda by Rája Sinha II. in 1628.

Kobbewala by King Kírti Sri.

Inguruwatta, (not known.)

### A Village Mosque in the Kandyan Country.

The evidence in a suit of which I once had cognizance in the Central Province, in which Moormen were litigating with Moormen, threw some light on the manner in which a village mosque in that Province is run.

There is a priest or teacher in charge of such a mosque, but so far as I could make out there is no difference between the offices of priest and teacher. He is equally "*pádili*," which of course is the same word as *pádre*, the word applied to Christian ministers or priests. At any rate there was none at the Eladetta mosque. But it seems that, according to the laws and discipline of the Mahomedan religion, a priest or teacher cannot exercise his office of preaching unless there is an audience of forty persons present, and each one of these persons must have the sight of both eyes to qualify him to count as a unit. If a man is blind in one or both eyes he does not count as a man, and the preacher may preach only if the remaining 39 consent.

At the Kahatapitiya mosque the teachership was given to the husband of a maternal descendant of the founder, "as there were no other competent persons." The same state of things prevailed at the Arawawela mosque. From this perhaps it may be inferred that the office is to some extent hereditary or that descendants of the founder have a prior claim to appointment. But the plaintiff was unable to say whether maternal descent from the founder gave such a claim.

When the ceremony of offering boiled rice at the mosque is observed each member of the congregation is supposed to give a *bat lewele*, offering of boiled rice to the priest. He is under an obligation to do this once a year, but the obligation is not always fulfilled. He also pays one *messa*, equivalent to 32 cents, at this ceremony and another *messa* at the new year (*Perunál*), and in the course of the year 2 to 4 *carinams*. In this way from each person about ten shillings in a year are obtained. One witness paid Rs. 3 at the offering of boiled rice, 16 cents on *Perunál*, Rs. 1 at "Jausen" (=Hobson Jobson), and 50 cents in *Baratti* month (about November). The three rupees were divided among the officers of the mosque.

Men who have no families do not pay anything at the *Perunál*. At the ceremony of alms-giving observed forty days after a death, a rupee is given to the mosque. But many people do not observe this ceremony and so the mosque loses these rupees. Some people too "read the doctrines" themselves instead of getting the teacher to read them to them, and so escape their dues.

One witness estimates the emoluments of the teacher at the Kahatapitiya mosque at Rs. 20 a year; another at Rs. 100.

Mohammedans worship six times a day I think. The following are the names and hours at which these acts of devotion take place—of five of them at least—(The sixth I have not noted.)

4-30 a.m.	to 6 a.m.	" Subacco "
12-30 p.m.	to 3-30 p.m.	" Lohur "
3-30 p.m.	to 6 p.m.	" Assar "
6 p.m.	to 7-30 p.m.	" Macaribo "
7-30 p.m.	to 12 midnight	" Ahska "

There are certainly endeavours made by the congregations of mosques to settle their disputes and have justice administered among themselves without recourse to law, thus acting in accordance with the scriptural injunction to avoid litigation if possible.

For instance, some persons unknown had stolen a quantity of areka-nuts from the garden of an elder of the Nikadeniya mosque, who laid a complaint of this before his brother elders. All the members of the Mohammedan community, women of course excepted, assembled at the mosque, and it was decided that every Mohammedan resident of the village should take oath that he had not stolen the areka-nuts. The majority complied, but a few refused to take the oath. The complainant then petitioned the Government Agent that he would compel the recusants to comply. Eventually, by direction of this official, further attempt was made to induce them to fall into line with the majority; the oath was taken by all, and the complainant was quite satisfied.

Another curious custom having the force of law among the Moormen is that if an infant, under two years of age, of its own accord takes the breast of a woman five times, that woman is considered as being in the same place as its mother, and the woman's children as its brothers and sisters. There can be no marriage when they are grown up between the foster child and any of the other children. This is the foster-mother feeling, well-known in Celtic countries especially, carried to an extreme.

I have noticed, while engaged in exemption duty under the Road Ordinance, that the old men among the Moormen look better preserved than the old men of the Kandians or in fact any other natives.

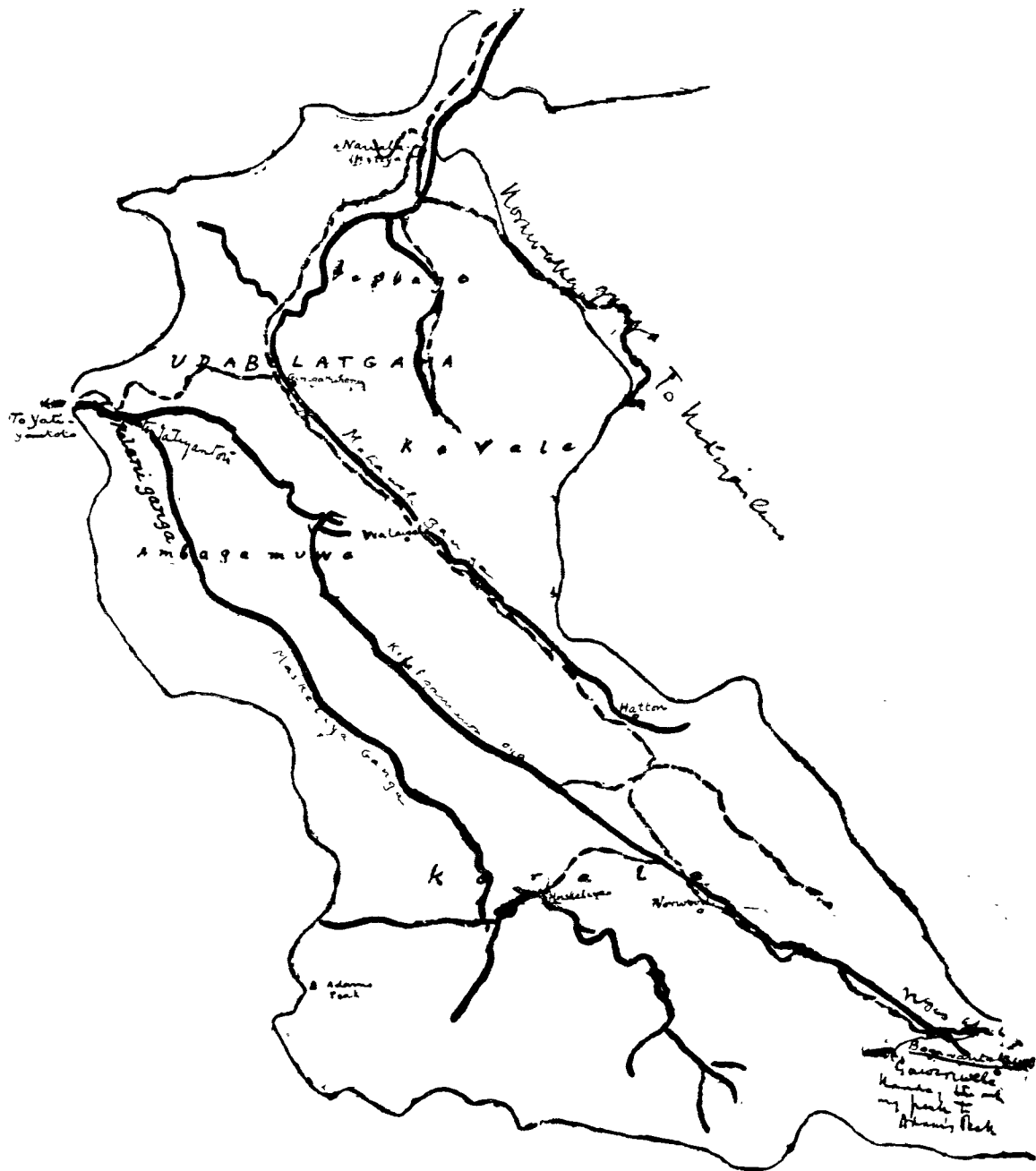
Names of contempt applied to Moormen are *hambayá* and *marakkalayá*; also *paraiya hambayá*.

**Traditions.** (*Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. VI., p. 183) left the question uncertain here as to whether it was the people of Bembiya or those of Hamapola who had the duty imposed on them of supplying *baṭa* mats for the Minipé Ela. On further reference to my notes I find that it was the people of Bembiya. The Hamapola people say this was because they stole the *kawan* mats of the latter; the Bembians do not admit the theft, but say the reason they had to take the place of the Hamapolians in the matter of the supply of mats was because the *kawan* mats of the latter did not keep the water in, and their *baṭa* mats had to be used instead.

**Historic Memories.** (p. 184) While in the Central Province the date relied on as evidence of age was "the time of eighteen fanams," in the Northern Province it was "when the tax was eight fanams."

**Rivers.** (p. 188) The Kehelgamuwa Ganga, which is the river at Norwood, erroneously called the Mahaweliganga, rises at Gawariwela Kanda, the adjoining peak to Adam's Peak, and flows into the Kelani Ganga.

The Konwala Ganga joins the Mahaweliganga 3 miles from Nawalapitiya.



The watershed at Hatton is curious. Half the water goes down into the Mahaweliganga, and so to the east coast, and the other half into the Kelani and to the west coast. (See the rough map above.)

The source of the Maha Oya is near Rambukkana—an *ela* which runs through Farm Estate.

## Notes & Queries.

### ALEXANDER OSWALD BRODIE.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired).

REFERRING to Mr. Hettiaratchi's reply, (*Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. VI, p. 157) to my query regarding this civilian, I now add some further particulars about him received from Mr. Edward Elliott, C.C.S. (Retired).

"You ask me to tell you 'all I know about Brodie.' I annex some notes:—

"I knew him intimately when he was Assistant Agent, Matale, and I was Police Magistrate, Dambool . . . He was, if I remember aright, originally a civil engineer and was employed as such in the west of Ireland.

"He went on leave in 1853 from Anuradhapura, and on the homeward voyage he travelled with an old colonel of the Bengal Army named Spottiswood, and visited him in England. He fell in love with the eldest daughter, Jessie, who was very young and had just left school and married her. She had an uncle in business in New York, who had amassed a large fortune and was naturalised there. He happened to be also in England. He was a bachelor and he induced Brodie to resign the Civil Service of Ceylon, promising to make him his heir. This Brodie did in 1855, the uncle having legally settled on him £10,000 as the equivalent of the salary he would get as Assistant Government Agent, Anuradhapura. Brodie and his wife went over to New York and lived with the uncle. It was, however, necessary for Brodie to be naturalised to succeed to the old man's property, but when he heard that this involved not only sworn allegiance to the United States, but also a declaration that he 'abjured allegiance to the Queen of England whose subject I now am,' he jibbed and refused to take the oath, but continued to live on with the uncle, who promised to make it all right, but he died without doing so or making a will. Consequently other heirs took his share, but consented to the £10,000 already settled on the Brodies being paid over to them.

"Brodie returned to England and, on representing matters to the Secretary of State, was told to return to Ceylon, and the Governor was told to reinstate him as soon as possible. On his arrival in Ceylon after his reappointment in 1857, he was gazetted Additional District Judge at Matara, where old Henry Pole had got the work in a mess. The Indian Mutiny was then on, and in a disturbance in Kada-widiya, some of the Moors raised a cry that the English Raj was ended. They were brought before Brodie as Police Magistrate, and he said, if the Raj was to end, before it did, they should do a month in jail. Sir H. Ward was very much gratified at this show of firmness, and on 1st May, 1858, appointed Brodie to act as Assistant Agent, Matale.

"Brodie was a Scotchman, and was very popular with the planters, the majority of whom at the time were also Scotch. A dance and gathering were given by him to his fellow countrymen on St. Andrew's Day at Matale, and he insisted on their all wearing kilts and walking to his house through the street with them on. He was also instrumental in getting a Presbyterian Minister for Matale, the first being Mr. Watt, afterwards Presbyterian Chaplain at Kandy for many years. Mrs. Brodie was a most charming lady.

" Colonel Spottiswood and his wife came to Ceylon about 1862, <sup>1</sup> and lived for several years at Fairieland, above Kandy. The wife was a great photographer . . . the old Colonel was given to using very strong language, and was a great drinker of beer, imbibing a dozen quart bottles a day. Though his relations with his wife's parents were not cordial, Brodie imitated old Spottiswood's liking for beer, and before he left Ceylon got the length of seven bottles a day, but drank no other spirituous liquor and was most punctilious in not beginning before 12 o'clock, and then only with a pint.

" He never went to bed till 2 a.m. and consequently did not emerge out of his bedroom till 10 a.m. He read far into the night; Churchill <sup>2</sup> had a story that when they were in the same Rest-house he was woken by Brodie asking for the loan of the last Government Almanac, as he had nothing else to read and had not yet read the shipping list.

" Brodie was a most enterprising and energetic Assistant Agent and did much to improve the Matale District. He was the first to suggest legislation for promoting communal co-operation for the restoration of village tanks and in paddy cultivation, but it fell to John Bailey <sup>3</sup> to elaborate and to induce Sir H. Ward to pass the first Paddy Cultivation Ordinance.

" Brodie went on leave in 1863 with the full intention of retiring at the end of his leave, which he did the following year. He had a son and two daughters. He lived in a house he bought in Edinburgh. I last saw him in 1869.

" Though Brodie preferred travelling in the middle of the day, trusting to a leather hat and a coat of leather, which he said fully protected him, he enjoyed good health while in Ceylon. On his way home *via* Bombay (where Mrs. Brodie's sister Helen was living, having married Captain Thomas, P. and O. agent) he contracted dysentery, which clung to him for seven years."

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## THE FIRST CATHOLIC BISHOP OF CEYLON

APPOINTED AT THE INSTANCE OF THE CEYLON GOVERNMENT.

By S. G. P.

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**I**T was in 1832, and probably through the exertions of Sir Alexander Johnston, a scholarly and far-sighted Chief Justice of Ceylon, that negotiations were opened between the Governor of Ceylon and the Pope for the appointment of a Bishop of Ceylon. The Governor, Sir R. Wilmot Horton, wrote to Dr. Bains, an English Vicar Apostolic, on 1st Feby. 1832, expressing his desire for the appointment of a Bishop, presumably of a British Bishop, for Ceylon.

A prominent English nobleman of the time, Lord Clifford, replied to the Governor (Palacio Descalchi, Rome, 8 June, 1835) communicating to him the decision of the Congregation of the Propaganda to appoint the actual Superior of the Mission to that office. He hoped, he said, that the appointment would be satisfactory to his Majesty's government and to his Excellency "considering the information given by Sir Alexander Johnston to His Excellency regarding the department of the Fathers of the Oratory." It is, he added, a proof of the confidence placed on those Fathers by the Holy See. However, if an English Ecclesiastic was found more commend-

1 Earlier. Twin infant children of the Spottiswoods were buried in the Garrison Cemetery, Kandy, in May, 1860. (J.P.L.)

2 Mr. J. F. Churchill, formerly Director of Public Works, came to Ceylon in 1856 as Assistant Civil Engineer. (J.P.L.)

3 He was Principal Assistant Colonial Secretary, 1858-1862, and married a daughter of Sir Henry Ward. He was a son of Archdeacon Bailey. (J.P.L.)



able, His Excellency was required not to hesitate to communicate his wishes to the Holy See through Dr. Baines or any other person. An English Oratorian could not be found.

When the Governor received this letter he made inquiries from Father Vincente de Rosario and wrote to Lord Clifford (12 Jan., 1837) that he spoke to the Revd. Father Vincente de Rosario but was told that no notice of any such appointment was received nor even any intimation of such an intention. The Holy See did indeed publish a Brief *Ex Munere Pastoralis*, 3 Dec. 1834, erecting the island of Ceylon into a distinct and separate vicariate (*Jus Pontificium. Prop. Fid.* v. 119-20.) But, owing to the troublesome situation of the Indian Church in those days, the Brief had to be reenacted (23 Dec., 1836.) It is probably this brief that is referred to in the following extract :

"On the 13 Jan., 1838, after High Mass, the Superior and Vicar General of the Mission of Ceylon, D. Vincent du Rosaire, and six priests held a meeting in the church of St. Lucie, at which the Vicar General produced two briefs from the Pope nominating him Bishop and Vicar Apostolic of the island of Ceylon. These briefs were read by the Secretary of the mission and explained in different languages to the congregation. The Bishop elect afterwards addressed an allocution to the clergy and the congregation ; after which the *Te Deum* was chanted. The congregation manifested great joy on the occasion. The consecration was however delayed, in consequence of some difficulties, till new instructions should be received from the Holy See. There are about 100,000 Catholics in Ceylon, which has hitherto depended upon the Portuguese Archbishop of Goa, who supplied the mission with native priests of the order of Theatins, educated at Goa, but His Holiness wishes to make Ceylon an Independent Vicariate."

The difficulties referred to in the extract lasted so long that the Bishop elect was never consecrated. Meanwhile rumours were active, and the *Ceylon Observer*, 15 June, 1842, announced, on the strength of private letters received from home, that "the Sovereign Pontiff had appointed Dr. Russell, a Dean of Maynooth, to be Bishop of Ceylon and that his Lordship was about to embark with 10 British priests."

It is said that Dr. Russell declined the office. Anyhow, in 1843, letters from Rome arrived announcing the promotion of Dr. Cajetano Antonio, Vicar General of Ceylon, in place of Fr. Rosario deceased, to the episcopacy, and to the charge of the Ceylon Mission as Vicar Apostolic. "A more worthy person could not have been selected for that sacred office" was the comment of the *Ceylon Observer*.

The Bishop elect left Ceylon for Pondicherry on 14 Sept., 1843, with Frs. Caetano and Cassimir. There he was consecrated and returned to Ceylon on 15 October, to take possession of his See, the first Bishop of Ceylon.

## NOTES ON THE "MAHÁVANSA."<sup>1</sup>

### IV. KING VASABHA'S QUEEN: TWO ANECDOTES.

By JOHN M. SENAVERATNA, F.R.H.S.

THE story of how Potthá, the widow of a simple Commander of Troops in the Sinhalese army, rose to the dignity of Queen of Lanka is thus related in the *Mahāvansa*<sup>2</sup> :—

<sup>1</sup> Continued from *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. IV, p 55.

<sup>2</sup> Gelger. *Mahāvansa*, XXXV, 55-70.

" One sprung of the Lambakanna clan, named Vasabha, whose home was in the northern province, served under his uncle, a Commander of troops. Since it was declared : ' One named Vasabha shall be king,' the King at that time (Subharāja) commanded that all in the Island who bore the name of Vasabha should be slain. The Commander, thinking : ' We must deliver up our Vasabha to the king', and having taken counsel with his wife upon the matter, set out early in the morning to go to the King's residence. And the wife, to guard Vasabha carefully who went with him, put betel into his hand but without powdered chalk.

" Now when the Commander, at the gate of the palace, saw the betel without chalk, he sent him back for chalk. When Vasabha came for the chalk the Commander's wife spoke with him secretly, gave him a thousand pieces of money and aided him to take flight. Vasabha went to the Mahavihāra and by the theras there was provided with milk, food and clothes, and when he had again heard from a leper the certain prophecy that he would be king, rejoicing he resolved : ' I will be a rebel.'

" And when he had found men suited to his purpose he went, seizing in his further course village by village, according to the instruction in the story of the cake<sup>3</sup>, to Rohana, and gradually winning the kingdom to himself he advanced, after two years, with the needful army and train, towards the capital. When the mighty Vasabha had conquered Subharāja in battle he raised the parasol of sovereignty in the capital. His uncle had fallen in battle. But his uncle's wife, named Potthā, who had first helped him, did King Vasabha raise to be Queen."

The only other connection in which mention is made of Queen Potthā in the old chronicle is that, "in the fair courtyard of the great Bōdhi-tree," she built "a splendid *thūpa* and a beautiful temple for the *thūpa* (loc. cit. 90.)

But the *Samanta-pāsādikā*, Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Vinaya Pitaka*, has another interesting anecdote to tell us of Queen Potthā, and it is as follows :—

(*Samanta-pāsādikā*, 2, p 257).

(Translation)

Mahāpadumattothero pi kira Vasabharaṇṇo deviyā roge uppanne ekāya itthiyā āgantvā pucchito na jānāmi ti vatvā evam eva bhikkhūhi saddhim sallapesi. Tam sutvā tassā bhesajjam akāmsu.

Vūpasante ca roge ti-civarena ca tihi ca kahāpanasatehi saddhim bhesajjacangotakam pūretvā āharitvā therassa pādāmūle thapetvā bhante pupphapūjām karoṭhā ti āhamsu. Thero ācariyabhāgo nāma ayan ti kappiyavasena gahāpetvā pupphapūjām akāsi.

The Venerable Mahāpaduma had a visit of a woman (Queen's attendant) and was asked about (a medicine), as the Queen of the King Vasabha was ill. "I do not know" was his answer, and no more. He went on, however, talking with Bhikkhus (about the matter). Hearing him they made the medicine for her.

And when she recovered, they filled the medicine-casket with three robes and a hundred *kahāpana* coins, and laid it at the feet of the thera, and said : "Sir, make with this flower-offerings to the Buddha." The thera, saying : "This would be my teacher's share," accepted the casket, as it was proper to do, and made flower-offerings with it.

The Chinese *Samanta-pāsādikā*, translated by Sangha-bhadra in A. D. 488, also hands down the same anecdote.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The story of Candagutta and the cake is to be found in *Mahāvamsa Tikā*, p 123 et seq; Cf. Geiger, *Dip. and Mah.*, pp 39-40; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p 269; Jacobi, Hemacandra's *Paristataparvan*. VIII. 290-296; preface, p 58.

<sup>4</sup> *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 1917-1919, p 73.

## SOME RUINS IN JAFFNA.

By REVD. S. GNANA PRAKASAR, O.M.I.

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**I**T is a matter for regret that no systematic archæological research has yet been undertaken with regard to the Jaffna peninsula. The recent archæological finds with which what may be called the amateur-like work of Dr. P. E. Pieris has been rewarded forebode possibilities of which we hardly had any idea before.

I had occasion, when discussing Sinhalese place-names in Jaffna (in the *Ceylon Antiquary*), to allude to old Buddhistic ruins in other divisions of the Peninsula. Here I note down some particulars about a few ancient objects in the Tenmaradchy division which came under my notice while on Missionary circuit.

**Chavakachchery.**—It is generally known that, where the Chavakachchery market now is, there stood a stately Portuguese church and church-house. Baldæus calls "the church of Chavagatzery the biggest of the whole Province, and the adjacent House very strong and well built, having a pleasant Prospect towards the sea with fine Gardens well stor'd with all sorts of *Indian* fruits." Some old foundations can still be traced on the Western half of the location as also within the enclosure of the Police Magistrate's house. But the probability, that an older building which was there had been destroyed by the Portuguese to make room and perhaps also supply the material for their church, may not be generally understood. I saw what appeared to be part of an entablature well executed in hard limestone which I was told had been dug up there. This stone, I believe, is now in the parsonage of the Protestant church opposite the market. The popular idea is that a Hindu temple had stood there in ancient times. The traditional site of this 'temple' is worth while examining.

There is a vague tradition that the old temple on the site of the Portuguese church of Chavakachchery was named Vári-appar-koil. A modern temple of that name stands near the Railway Station and the Lingam worshipped here is said to have belonged to the old temple. They say also that the stone slab (about three feet square with a socket about one foot square) which is found infixed before the main entrance of the Protestant church, served formerly as a pedestal to the above Lingam. Folklore gives a curious account of the discovery of this Lingam. A certain man of Nupávil was in the habit of crossing the Chavakachchery lagoon every morning for fetching fresh milk for his own use from Arukuveli on the other side. Every time he was passing a certain spot on his return, however, a creeper called *Sáttá-vári* entwining his feet made him stumble and spill the milk over it as an involuntary libation. This extraordinary event made the villagers examine the spot and, on digging beneath the offending creeper, a Lingam was discovered which came to be called Vári-appar, presumably from the creeper's name *Sáttá-vary*—a good instance of folk-etymology!

There are traces of some ruins in a compound called Koddadi-vaḷavu on the old Kandy road at the distance of a five minutes' walk from St. Liguory's Church, Chavakachchery. The allotment is about 15 acres in extent and includes a heap of debris known as Kal-piddy (stone mound.) One comes across bits of brick walls almost over the whole area. I noticed an old

well about 15 feet deep built with large bricks measuring  $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2} \times 3$  inches. In another part of the compound some people digging a well came upon an earthenware ring one yard in diameter which had probably belonged to an old well. This was at the depth of nine feet. Bricks triangular in shape are also reported to have been found elsewhere but I was not able to secure a sample.

**Vérak-Kádu.**—There are some extensive ruins in Mantuvil known as Vérak-Kádu. This spot can be best reached by the Mantuvil-Varany road. You get down near the first mile stone and a ten minutes walk in an easterly direction through the first beaten track you discover, will bring you to a collection of big mounds of sand crowned with brushwood and 'jungle-trees'—this is why the place is known as *Kádu*: jungle. The qualification *Véra* evidently alludes to a *Vihára* (also known in Sinhalese as *Vehera*) or *Viháras* which once existed there. The palmyra grove below, to the N. W., is simply known as Vérám.

The mounds seem to cover nearly ten acres of land—all Crown property. The plot might once have comprised a larger extent as some of the land seems to have been transferred to private owners and a good deal of encroachment has certainly taken place. There are two principal mounds, one on the East about 25 feet high, and one on the West much higher than this and conical in form. The folklore of the place would identify this with a Buddhist *dágoba*. The people believe that some kings (or queens) had their treasures buried in a well on the top of this mound and that a detachment of *bhutas* or ghosts are guarding it to the present day. My informant assured me that on Tuesday and Friday nights people in the neighbourhood distinctly hear the clangs and thuds made in the act of opening the treasure-safe by the ghosts, presumably for verifying its contents, and forthwith flashes of lightning play round the spot and all sorts of noises abound. I signified my desire to watch these wonderful proceedings one night. But my interlocutor smiled and said: "Oh sir, such things will not happen when persons like you want to examine the affair!"

This particular mound will certainly repay careful excavation. Its slopes, where made bare by rain torrents, display quantities of rubble stones evidently used for the building of the circular wall. All throughout the ruins people have dug up rubble as well as coral stones in plenty and this continues year after year. The well cut coral stone seems to line the walls while the uncut rubble forms the interior mass. The former is in great demand among the neighbouring toddy-drawers who make excellent lime from it for besmearing their sweet-toddy pots with.

There is a depression between the Eastern and Western mounds representing perhaps an old street and water course. The people's version is that the kings or queens who had their palaces here had begun to cut a navigable canal leading right up to Kachay (four or five miles away!) and, finding that the sea water was not enough to float their vessels, gave up the attempt and eventually departed from here.

**Talvalai.**—Here is another old site with a Sinhalese name. It means perhaps 'palmyra-forest.' Some other probably Sinhalese place-names of the neighbourhood may be noted here *en passant*: Maiyilankai, Kumbáveli and Kumukkalai, to the S. W. of Talvalai. Távalai Yatálai to the E., and Varany-yatálai and Siddivéram (at present corrupted into Suddipuram) to the N.E.

To reach what is called the Kóddaittidal, i. e. 'fort-mound' of Talvalai you have to walk in ankle-deep sand for about a mile to the West of the Mantuvil-Varany road which you leave at a point about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles distant from the Mantuvil junction. Mr. K. Kásináder, Police Vidan of Mantuvil, was good enough to put his ox-cart at my disposal for visiting this spot, and also

to accompany me, with the present owner—it was Crown property till some twenty-five years ago—of the greater part of the site, Mr. Visovanáda Udaiyar Kandiah of Mantuvil. The place is entirely overgrown with brushwood except for a bit of ground cleared and cultivated with tobacco, &c. The most noteworthy object here is a large rectangle (?) surrounded by a thick brick and rubble wall. I was able to trace a good length of the Western wall—in some places three feet above the *debris*—which is probably over 200 yards long. I saw nothing of the Southern portion of the ruins which is covered with impenetrable jungle, but on the Northern portion, partly cleared, heaps of bricks and rubble mark a number of ancient buildings. The bricks are very large, being 12 inches by 8 and of remarkable consistency. Hundreds of cartloads of building materials have been and are being removed to the neighbouring villages from here.

Folklore has many interesting things to relate concerning the Talvaḷai 'fort.' There were seven queens once in residence here. Their names are handed down as Angai-Náchy, Kó-Náchy, Maṇṇi-Náchy, Kunkūṇi-Náchy and the rest unnamed. It would seem that there happened to be some domestic quarrel among these queens, which made them break up and depart the place, leaving most of their attendants and menials behind. After their departure, the domestic servants—the Koviār—who had stayed behind, began to pay divine honours to them within their one-time mansion, calling them Náchimár, that is 'Our Mistressess.' The present *poojári* of these semi-divine personages who calls himself a descendant of their original servants, showed me over a shady grove which serves as their temple. Five rough stones, ranged in a semicircle at a distance of about ten feet from one another, do duty for the shrines of Iyanár, Nágatambirán, the Seven Náchimár, Vairavar and Aṇṇamár respectively from left to right. Thus the Náchimár hold the place of honour in the centre, those on their right and left being considered their attendants. Iyanár, they say, represents the Koviār styled in religious ceremonies 'Idaiyar,' and the Aṇṇamár represent the Naḷávar (and Paḷḷar?). What the other gods stand for does not seem clear. A remarkable feature in the worship of these divinities is that incense is burnt before all the shrines except that of Aṇṇamár who ought to be satisfied, the *poojári* remarked to me, with a Tadduvamadaḷ, i. e. eatables presented in a plaited palm leaf. Tadduvam in Sinhalese (*Tatuya*) means 'an offering made to a demon' (Clough.) The word is not found in Tamil dictionaries although in very general use among country folk.

Outside the precincts of the 'fort,' on the South, there is also a cluster of little ola sheds which are the fanes of Aṇṇamár, frequented by Naḷávar, and of Iyanár and Nágatambirán by the Koviār.

**Sankiliya-tidal.**—In Varāṇy, about four and a half miles on the Kodikāmam—Point Pedro road, within earshot distance to the West, is a low mound called Sankiliā-tidal or Sankily's mound. Old tiles, about 7 inches by 3, are dug up in plenty on this spot, indicating some ancient building about which, curiously enough, the people of the place have no story to tell. Possibly this site had some connexion with Sankily or Sekarāsa-sékaran, King of Jaffna. Was this the hiding place to which he repaired when dislodged by Constantino de Braganza from his stronghold of Kopay in 1560?

About half a mile from this spot, on the other side of the road, is another site of some ancient building which also abounds in old tiles of the same kind and other debris. If I remember right, the place is called Pankuni-piddy.

## EARLY BRITISH TIMES.<sup>1</sup>

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired).

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**T**HE following names and particulars of Madras civilians temporarily employed in Ceylon may be added to those already given :—

### Frederick Gahagan.

- 1796 Joined the Company as a writer.
- 1798 Assistant in the Public Revenue and Commercial Department.
- 13 Sept. 1799 Ditto under Governor of Ceylon.
- 10 Nov. 1801 Head Assistant in the Revenue and Judicial Department.
- 3 July, 1802 Deputy Postmaster General.
- 13 May, 1803 Subordinate Collector in the Ceded Districts.
- 28 Oct. 1807 Collector of the Zillah of Bellary.
- 18 March, 1809 Secretary in the Revenue and Judicial Department.
- 17 Nov. 1809 French Translator to Government
- 1 Jan, 1810 Superintendent of Stamps
- 1812 Third Judge of the Provincial Court, Central Division

He died at Nellore, 19th May, 1815. His whole time in Ceylon was spent as Assistant to Lieutenant Colonel Barbut, Commissioner of Revenue and Commerce for the Province of Jaffnapatam. He was a cousin of Mrs. Barbut.

### Arthur Garland Blake.

- 1796 Entered service of the Company
- 1799 Assistant to the Public Department at Colombo
- 1800 Assistant to the Collector at Gunttoor.
- 22 Nov. 1800 Assistant under the Collector at Chicacole
- 9 July, 1802 Registrar to the Judge of the Zillah of Gunttoor
- 13 May, 1803 Ditto of the Provincial Court, Northern Division
- 1806 At home
- 23 April, 1808 Returned to India.
- 14 June, 1809 Assistant Judge at Masulipatam
- 11 March, 1812 Collector at Rajahmundry

He died at Rajahmundry, 30 Nov., 1812.

His Ceylon career began on 21 February, 1799, when he was appointed "Assistant in the Public Department." He became Assistant Secretary on 1 October of the same year and 3rd Assistant in November ; and apparently preferring Madras to Colombo—perhaps because Ceylon was being relinquished by the E. I. Company to the British Government,—on 16 January, 1800, applied for leave to return to Madras, which was granted. (See Cotton's *Madras Inscriptions*, p. 216.)

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<sup>1</sup> *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. V, p. 153 Vol. VI., p. 50.

**Thomas Fraser**

- 10 Sept. 1794 Entered the Company's service  
 1797 Assistant under Secretary in the Public Revenue and  
 Commercial Department  
 24 May, 1799 Accountant to the Government Civil Auditor at Ceylon  
 3 Feb. 1802 Out of employ  
 6 April, 1803 Head Assistant to Collector of Government Customs.  
 14 May, 1803 Deputy Assistant General  
 14 May, 1806 Collector of the Zillah of Masulipatam  
 14 March, 1809 Accountant General and Accountant to the Supreme Court  
 of Judicature  
 10 June, 1809 Collector at Nellore

He died at Madras on 1 September, 1823.

Of military officers from Madras there was Lieutenant Thomas Young, who was "Collector of Moeletivoe" during the whole of the year 1800. In September, 1801, he was at Madras and "would probably not return." He seems to have been Collector of Batticaloa at the same time as he was Collector of Mullaittivu. Perhaps Mr. Hayavadana Rao can give some further information about him. What regiment did he belong to?

But Thomas Fraser seems also to have been military.

"Captain Thomas Fraser" appears in Ceylon records as "Civil Auditor and Accountant General, 3 September, 1799." It was stated in the same records of September, 1801, Captain Fraser "will remain while required; then return to Fort St. George," which he seems to have done.

The above records of Madras services are taken from Dodwell and Miles's *Madras Civil Servants from 1780 to 1839*, published in 1839. It is curious that it should not contain the names of either Robert Andrews or John Pybus. The omission of the latter may be due to his having retired before 1780 (if he did), but the omission of Andrews is inexplicable. Can Mr. Hayavadana Rao throw any light on it?

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## BOOKS ON CEYLON.

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THE EDITOR,

*Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register.*

SIR,

**I**N the classified catalogue of Books, Pamphlets, Maps, Views, etc., relating to Asia published in 1904 by Mr. Francis Edwards, the bookseller, I find the following which do not appear in "Biblio's" list of Books on Ceylon.

Yours, &c.,

ARTHUR A. PERERA.

Westwood, Kandy, 16th July, 1921.

Album of 96 Photographs by Lawton, 1870 (*circa.*)

[Consists of Views of ruined temples and shrines, etc., at Isurumuniya, Tisaveva, Dambulla, etc.]

Alexander (Alex), *Life of*, Written by himself and edited by John Howell, 2 vols, Edinburgh, 1830.

[He was eight years in Ceylon (1803-1811) and to his experiences adds an account of the manners and customs of the inhabitants.]

Barros and Couto. *Da Asia*. 1778-88.

[Barros's *Asia* and its continuation by Da Couto contain the best original account of the Portuguese Discoveries and conquests in Asia. Decades relating to Ceylon translated by Donald Ferguson in J. R. A. S. (C. B.) Vol. 20. 1909.]

Beal (Samuel),—*Travels of Fah-Hien and Sung-Yun, Buddhist Pilgrims from China to India (400 A. D. to 518 A. D.)* 1869.

Bussche, (Capt. L. de),—*Letters on Ceylon particularly relative to the Kingdom of Kandy*, 1817.

Ceylon, *First, Second and Third Reports from the Select Committee, House of Commons, together with minutes of evidence, appendices containing Despatches, Proclamations, etc., 3 Vols, 1850-1851.*

[Relating to disturbances of July and August, 1848, and to grievances in connection with the administration and government of the Colony arising out of Martial Law, house burning, confiscations, executions, sequestrations, Verandah and other new taxes, Lord Torrington's Policy, etc.]

Clouston, (W. A.),—*The Book of Noodles*, 1888.

[Contains drolleries from Indian and Sinhalese books.]

Ceylon in the Fifties and Eighties : vicissitudes of Planting enterprise, etc., by a Planter, Colombo, 1886.

Crüwell (G. A.),—*Liberia Coffee in Ceylon, Colombo*, 1878.

Callaway (J.),—*Yakkun Nattanava : a Cingalese Poem on Demonology ; also Kolan Nattanava, a poem descriptive of masquerade characters*, O. T. F. 1830.

Cordiner (Rev. James),—*A voyage to India (and Ceylon) 1797-1804. Portrait*, Aberdeen, 1820.

[The Author visited Trincomalee and Colombo (occurrences there June 1799 to April, 1804)].

Cosmas Indico Pleustes.—*Account of Ceylon, 5th Century A. D.*

[Abstracts in Suckling's and Tennent's works.]

Clough, (Rev. Benj )—*The Ritual of the Buddhist Priesthood*, O. T. F. 1834.

Danvers, (F. C.),—*The Portuguese in India, 2 Vols. 1894.*

[This work covers a period of 4 Centuries and gives narratives of the early voyages of the Portuguese from the time of Vasco da Gama, their conquests of all the trading Ports in the Eastern Seas, and the subsequent loss of most of them, including Ceylon, to the Dutch ]

Du Bois (J. P. I.),—*Vies des Gouverneurs Généraux avec l'abrégé de l'histoire des Etablissements Hollandois aux Indes Orientales*, 1763.

[Account of the Dutch Conquests, etc., in Java, Ceylon, etc., with views and plans of Point de Galle, etc.]

De Zilva Wickremesinghe, (Don Martino).—*Catalogue of the Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Museum (1900).*



- Catalogue of the Sinhalese printed books in the Library of the British Museum (1901).
- Frederic, (Caesar).—Voyages and Travels into the East Indies and Beyond (1563-1581) from the Italian by Thos Hickocker (1598).  
[See *Asiatic Miscellany* Vol. I. 1785, pp. 156-178 ; 278-285 ; 420-432. Cæsar Frederic visited Cochin, the Pearl Fishery, Ceylon, etc.]
- Ferguson, (John).—Ceylon in 1883 with account of its progress as a Crown Colony since 1803 with a portrait of Sir A. Gordon and view of Colombo. 1883.  
—Ceylon in 1893, Map and 100 illustrations. 1893.  
[This contains numerous appendices, including Papers read at the Colonial Institute and the London Chamber of Commerce in 1892, others on Tea Planting, Sport, Cinnamon Culture, Excursions round the Island and to the Buried Capital, Buddhism, Missions, Types of Races, Glossary of Native words, etc.]  
—Ceylon from 1896 to 1903. [Journal R. Col. Inst, Feby., 1904.]
- Graham, (Mrs. Maria, afterwards Lady Callcott).—Journal of a residence in India (1809-1811) with Sketches and Etchings, 1811.  
[Mrs. Graham visited Point de Galle, Trincomalee, etc.]
- Hamilton, (Capt. Alex).—New account of the East Indies : description of countries between the Cape of Good Hope and Japan. 2 Vols. 1744.  
[Account of Cochin, Ceylon, Madras, etc.]
- Hardy (R. Spence).—A Manual of Buddhism in its modern development from Sinhalese mss. 1880.  
—The Sacred Books of the Buddhists compared with History and Modern Science. Colombo, 1863.  
—Legends and Theories of the Buddhists compared with History and Science, 1866.  
—Christianity and Buddhism compared. Colombo, 1874.
- Herdman, (W. A.).—Report on the Pearl Oyster Fisheries of the Gulf of Manaar, 1903-1904.
- Hobday, (E.).—Eight beautifully finished pen drawings of Sport in Ceylon and India, each 9 in. by 6 in. 1880.
- Holman, (James).—Travels in Madras, Ceylon, Mauritius, etc., 1840.  
[Lieut. Holman, the blind traveller who visited Colombo, Adam's Peak, Kandy, Galle and Trincomalee in 1830, gives a most interesting account of the island, elephant hunting, natural products, especially woods, the inhabitants, etc., and three views].
- Hornaday, (W. T.).—Two years in the Jungle : Experiences of a Hunter and Naturalist in India, Ceylon, the Malay Peninsula and Borneo. 1885.
- Horne, (M. J.).—Life, voyages and adventures of 'Naufragus' written by himself, 1827.  
[Containing the author's observations during voyages in Penang, Malacca, Ceylon, etc.]
- Ibn Batuta.—Account of Ceylon. Visited A. D. 1344 [see *Oriental Trans. Fund*, Dr Lee's edition, chap XX. Also Yule's *Cathay* Vol. 2 pp 395-526. Abstract in Capt. Suckling's *Ceylon*, Vol. I. pp 257-263.]

- Knighton (Sir Wm).—*Tropical Sketches or Reminiscences of an Indian Journalist*, 2 vols. 1855 [Narrative of official and journalist experiences in Ceylon and India with 40 pages of Ceylon History.]
- Loubère (M de la)—*Envoyé du Roy de la France, 1687-1688. Du Royaume de Siam.* Amsterdam, 1691. [An English translation appeared in 1693 entitled "New Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam." There are chapters on Taprobane (Ceylon.)]
- Langdon, (Rev. S.)—*The Appeal to the Serpent or Life in an Ancient Buddhist City, Ceylon*; illustrated, 1889. R. T. S.  
—*Happy Valley or our New Mission Garden in Uva, Ceylon*, 1886.
- Lord (Walter Newman).—[see under "Maitland."]
- Marignolli, (John of)—*Eastern Travel: visit to Ceylon A. D. 1349 (Circa)*.  
[See Yule's *Cathay*, 1866 pp. 325 *et seq*; also abstract in Suckling's *Ceylon*, Vol. I. pp. 263-267].
- Moberly, (R. C.)—*Account of the Question (Disunity) between the Bishop of Colombo and the C. M. Society.* Oxford, 1876.
- Maitland, (Sir Thos.)—by Walter Newman Lord. [Sir Thos. Maitland was Governor of Ceylon, 1805-1810].
- Maundeville, (Sir John)—*Voiage & Travaile which treateth of the way to Hierusalem and of marveyles of Inde with other islands and countries.*
- Nicholson (Capt. Wm.)—[see under "Trincomalee."]
- Niruhoff, (Rev. John).—*Voyages and Travels to Brasil and the East Indies* (Churchill) 1707. [In his second voyage to the East Indies (1659-1670) Mr. Niruhoff went on from Batavia to Malacca, Sumatra, Point de Galle, etc.]
- Oliphant, (Lawrence)—*Episodes in a Life of Adventure or Moss from a Rolling Stone.* Edinburgh, 1887.  
[Includes an account of the ascent of Adam's Peak and some sporting reminiscences with Sir Samuel Baker].
- Perry, (Commodore Mathew. G.)—*Narrative of the U. S. Expedition to China and Japan*, 1856.  
[This narrative contains accounts of Ceylon, Malacca, etc.]
- Pridham, (C)—*An Historical, Political and Statistical account of Ceylon and its dependencies.* 2 vols. 1849.
- Sarasin, (Paul and Fried).—*Die Weddas von Ceylon und die sie umgeberiden Völkerschaften*: 2 vols. Wiesbaden, 1893
- Scherzer, (Dr. Karl)—*Circumnavigation of the 'Novara,' 1857-1859.* 3 vols.  
[Galle and Colombo were visited and Adam's Peak ascended in Sept., 1858. Dr. Scherzer gives an account of the island and its Prospects, the Sinhalese and the Veddas, Polyandry, Cinnamon cultivation, Coffee, Pearl fisheries, Precious stones, Coconut oil, the Cowry shell, antidote against Poisonous Snakes, visits to the Catholic missions, Buddhism and its ordinances, etc.]
- Sonnerat, (Pierre).—*Voyage aux Indes Orientales et à la Chine, 1774—1781, mœurs, religion, sciences et arts des' Indiens, Chinois, etc., suivi d'observations sur les Maldives, Ceylan, etc., Paris, 1782.*

Steele, (Thomas)—Kusa Jatakaya : an Eastern Love Story from the Alagiavanna Mohottala in English verse, 1871.

Solty Koff, (Prince Alexis)—Voyages dans l'Inde Pendant les Ans 1841-43 ; 1845-46, 2 vols. Paris, 1851.

[The atlas contains eight views in Ceylon (Colombo, Kandy, etc.)]

Schouten, (Wouter)—Ost. Indische Reyse. Amsterdam, 1676.

[Voyage to East Indies and Visits to Ceylon, etc. (1664-5), with views of Point de Galle, Colombo, etc., and an account of the capture of Jaffnapatam].

Thunberg, (C. P.)—Travels in Europe, Asia, etc., 1770-79, 4 vols. 1794,

[Visit to Ceylon in 1777-1778 is described in vol. 3].

Trincomalee, Draught of the Great Bay, Back Bay and Harbour of Trincomalee, Island of Zelvān, by Capt. Wm. Nicholson, 1763.

Upham, (Edward)—History and Doctrine of Ceylon Buddhism with notices of Demon Worship and of Planetary Incantations, 43 coloured plates from Sinhalese designs. 1829.



## Literary Register.

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### THE KANDYAN PENSIONERS OR THE LAST SCIONS OF SINHALESE ROYALTY.

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*(Continued from Vol. VII, Page 62.)*

THE CONDITION OF THOSE RESIDING IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

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ENCLOSURE. \*

Statement showing the existing Number of Kandyan Pensioners in the Tanjore District with particulars regarding their Families, Pensions, Qualifications, &c.

No.	Names of Pensioners and their Dependent Relatives.	Number in Auditor-General's List No. 1, or Relationship to Persons therein named.	Age.	Monthly Pension.	Date of Authority (Number and Date of the Madras Government Order.)	Residence.	Employment and Qualifications.	Remarks.
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	<b>Alagiamanavalasimbala Raja</b>	Son of No. 4	Years. 40	Rs. A. P. 100 0 0	G. O. No. 674, dated 30th August, 1887	Tanjore	No employment nor capacity for it. Knows only Telugu.	Maintains a number of commuted pensioners and other dependents. Involved in debt.
	<i>Family.</i> Venkatache Ammal, wife	—	38	—	—	do		
2	<b>Andala Devi</b> , (sister of No. 1)	No. 12	37	16 10 8	G. O. No. 552, dated 10th December, 1861	do		
	<i>Family.</i> Narasimha Raja, son	—	21	—	—	These three reside at Truvatur with Thagasa Mahala Raja, their-in-law of Narasimha Raja.	No employment. Has passed Middle School examination in second class, which does not qualify him for Government superior service. Hand writing and abtatie indifferent.	
	Raja Nachiar Devi (daughter-in-law)	—	17	—	—			
	A child, granddaughter	—	4 mos.	—	—			
	Ramachandra Raja, son	—	14	—	—	do	At School in Tanjore town. Ceylon Government pays the schooling charges.	
	Varada Raja, son	—	7	—	—			
3	<b>Dharma Raja</b>	No. 5	39	50 0 0	G. O. No. 472, dated 25th October, 1861	Tanjore	No employment nor capacity for it.	
	<i>Family.</i> Muthukrishnachce Amma, wife	—	25	—	—	do		
	Ramachendra Raja, son	—	14	—	—	do	At school in Tanjore town. Ceylon Government pays the schooling charges.	
4	Rajalakshumi, daughter	—	3	—	—	do		
	<i>Sontawa Raja.</i>	Son of No. 11	78	16 10 8	G. O. No. 122, dated 2nd March, 1893.	do	Was studying at St. Peter's College Tanjore town. Ceylon Government pays the fees. No prospect of his qualifying by examination for Government service. Left school without permission in January, 1893.	
5	<b>Kirthisimbala Raja</b>	No. 13	37	44 3 6	G. O. No. 365, dated 15th November, 1870	do	No employment nor capacity for it.	

\* Names in heavy black letters are on the Reserved List of Pensioners.

Statement showing the existing Number of Kandyan Pensioners in the Tanjore District, with particulars regarding their Families, Pensions, Qualifications, &amp;c.—Contd.

No.	Names of Pensioners and their Dependent Relatives.	Number in Auditor-General's List No. 1, or Relationship to Persons therein named.	Age.	Monthly Pension.	Date of Authority (Number and Date of the Madras Government Order.)	Residence.	Employment and Qualifications.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	<i>Family.</i>		Years.	Rs. A. P.				
	Raja Nachiar Devi, wife	—	21	—	—	Tanjore		
	Kansal ia Devi, daughter	—	11	—	—	do		
	Nila Devi, daughter	—	7	—	—	do		
	Bhoja Raja, brother	—	35	—	—	do		
	Venkatachiamma, brother's wife	—	25	—	—	do		
6	<b>Tiyagasimbala Raja</b>	No. 6	37	56 10 8	G. O. No. 478, dated 29 <sup>th</sup> October, 1861.	Truvilur	Unemployed ; no qualifications.	
	<i>Family.</i>							
	Muddukannamma, wife	—	32	—	—	do		
	Venkatamarasimbala Raja,	—	12	—	—	do		
	Vanda Raja, son	—	8	—	—	do		
	Vikramasimbala Raja, son	—	6	—	—	do		
	Daughter married to son of No. 2 in this list	—						
7	<b>Mandalasami Ammal</b>	No. 10	45	16 10 8	G. O. No. 532 dated 10 <sup>th</sup> December, 1861.	Tanjore		
	<i>Family.</i>							
	Bungartirumalai Nalk, husband	—	55	—	—	do	No employment nor qualifications.	
8	<b>Savitri Devi</b>	No. 7.	48	63 5 4	G. O. No. 53, dated 10 <sup>th</sup> January, 1857.	do	Widow	Says she owes Rs. 9,000 and lives in constant dread of being dragged into court by her creditors. Very unfortunate that her debts should be paid.
9	<b>Bungarasubammal</b>	Wife of No. 2	46	58 5 4	G. O. No. 102, dated 17 <sup>th</sup> April, 1873	do	Widow	
	<i>Family.</i>							
	Rajagopal, grandson	—	12	—	—	do	At school in Tanjore town. Ceylon Government pays schooling charges.	
	Chinnakrishnaswamy, grandson	—	9	—	—	do		

Statement showing the existing Number of Kandyan Pensioners in the Tanjore District, with particulars regarding their Families, Pensions, Qualifications, &c.—*Contd.*

No.	Name of Pensioners and their Dependent Relatives.	Number in Auditor-General's List No. 1, or Relationship to Persons therein named.	Age.	Monthly Pension	Date of Authority Number and Date of the Madras Government Order	Residence.	Employment and Qualifications.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9	9
10	Chellamma	No. 20 in list No. II. of the Auditor-General, but since transferred to list No. I—vide G. O. No. 634, dated 26th June, 1886	2	7 0 0	G. O. No. 935, dated 31st October, 1887	Tanjore	Widow.	
11	Doraisami Naik Family. Ranga Raja, son of And four daughters of from 9 to 16 years of age, names not known	Son of No. 23	47	12 2 8	G. O. No. 25, dated 13th January, 1885	do	Knows Telugu and a little Tamil. No employment nor qualifications.	
			12	—	—	do	At school in Tanjore town. Ceylon Government pays schooling charges.	
12	Kannusamy Naik	Son of No. 40	55	10 5 6	G. O. No. 531, dated 18th September, 1877	Pudakkottai	Knows Telugu and a little Tamil. No employment nor qualifications.	Draws his pension at Tanjore.
	Lakshmi Devi, wife Doraisami, son Ramakrishnasamy son A third son and two daughters; names and ages not known	— — —	40 20 9	— — —	— — —	do do do	Were at school at Pudakkottai at cost of Ceylon Government, but no longer attend. The elder has no qualification for employment.	
13	Lakshumamma	No. 48	47	4 0 0	G. O. No. 270, dated 17th June, 1880	Tanjore	Unemployed. Wants employment. Knows some English. Has not passed any examination. Is in no way up to the standard for Government employment.	Doraisami Naik, No. 44 in the Auditor-General's List No. I, had a pension of Rs. 14-1-0. When he applied for a nomination, his brother Tirumalai Souri objected and about half of this pension was granted to Tirumalai Souri. One-half of Tirumalai Souri's pension was inherited by his son Kamacheidra Raja.
14	Ramachandra Raja (son of No. 13)	Brother's son of No. 44	24	3 10 1	G. O. No. 958, dated 26th October, 1890	do		
	Bungaru Raja, Brother	—	18	—	—	do	Studying at St. Peter's College, Ceylon Government pays the fees, &c. Not likely to qualify by examination for Government service.	
15	Tiruvengudakrishnasamy Raja	Son of No. 25	46	20 0 8	G. O. No. 673, dated 21st December, 1889	do	No employment nor capacity for it. Knows only Telugu.	
	Kumaramma, mother Bhima Raja, son	— —	65 19	— —	— —	do do	Was at school at cost of Ceylon Government, but has ceased to attend. Not likely to qualify for Government employment.	
	Rajanaachiar Devi, daughter	—	9	—	—	do		

Statement showing the existing Number of Kandyan Pensioners in the Tanjore District, with particulars regarding their Families, Pensions, Qualifications, &amp;c.—Contd.

No.	Name of Pensioners and their dependent Relatives.	Number in Auditor-General's List No. 1, or Relationship to persons therein named.	Age	Monthly Pension.	Date of Authority (Number and Date of the Madras Government Order.)	Residence.	Employment and Qualifications.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	6
16	Venkatasubbasami	No. 32	Years. 74	Rs. A. P. 13 10 2	G. O. dated 27th February, 1838	Tanjore	No employment nor capacity for it. Knows only Telugu.	
	Family							
	Chekkaniamma, wife	—	65	—	—	do	Unemployed, and no capacity for business.	
	Kunarasami, son	—	43	—	—	do	At school in Tanjore town at the cost of Ceylon Government.	
	Ramakrishnasami, son	—	38	—	—	do		
	Soudara Rajulu, grandson	—	11	—	—	do		
	Lakshunamma, daughter-in-law	—	27	—	—	do		
	Venkatanarasimhala Raja	Grandson of No. 22	19	11 15 8	G. O. No. 673, dated 25th September, 1885	do	At school in Tanjore town at the cost of Ceylon Government; not likely to qualify by examination.	
18	Venkataramakrishnasami	Son of No. 24	54	24 10 8	G. O. No. 967, dated 26th October, 1886	..	No employment or capacity for it.	
	Rajana Raja, No. 4 in this list, is the son of the above. Both live together							
19	Muthialammal	No. 42, Kuppam-mal's husband's brother's wife	56	3 0 0	G. O. No. 390 dated 21st September, 1874	..	Widow	Kuppam-mal was drawing a pension of Rs. 10, and a deduction of Rs. 3 was made from her pension and granted to Muthialammal for her maintenance.
20	Govindasami Raja	Son of No. 18	32	10 15 0	G. O. No. 623 dated 7th November, 1877	do	No employment or capacity for it.	
21	Venkatasami Raja	No. 20	54	58 5 4	G. O. No. 1,019, dated 4th December, 1857	Negapatam	First-Grade Pleader, Municipal Commissioner and Honorary Magistrate. Knows English, Tamil, Telugu, and Hindustani. Has passed the Anglo-Vernacular branch of the General Test, also Criminal Higher, Precis writing, Higher Translation, and Civil Law; Exempted from passing Civil Higher.	Circumstances moderate. Pays income tax on an income of Rs. 1,200. Has houses and some other property, but not sufficient to keep up his position. Has a large family and many dependents to support. Suffers from elephantiasis of both legs.
	Family.							
	Muthukannamma	—	42	—	—	do	Unemployed, and not willing to serve	
	Govindasami Raja, son	—	29	—	—	do	Knows Tamil and Telugu.	



Statement showing the existing number of Kandyan Pensioners in the Tanjore District, with particulars regarding their Families, Pensions, Qualifications, &amp;c.—Contd.

No.	Names of Pensioners and their Dependent Relatives.	Number in Auditor-General's List No. 1, or Relationship to Persons therein named.	Age.	Monthly Pension.	Date of Authority (Number and Date of the Madras Government Order)	Residence.	Employment and Qualifications.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Parthasarathi Raja, son	—	22	—	—	Negapatam	Unemployed. Has passed Middle school examination in the second class. Writes a neat hand in English. Wants employment, but is not qualified by examination nor up to Tanjore standard.	
	Rajagopal, son	—	19	—	—	do	Unemployed, and without qualifications.	
	Abbov, son	—	13	—	—	do	At Wesleyan Mission College in Negapatam. Ceylon Government pays the charges.	
	Dharmia Raja, son	—	10	—	—	do		
	Rajammal, widowed daughter Venkatachamma, daughter-in-law	—	25	—	—	do		
	Anneyyamm, daughter-in-law	—	23	—	—	do		
	Gopalakrishna Raja, grandson Rathakrishnasami, grandson (daughter's son)	—	19	—	—	do		
	Ramesami Raja, grandson (daughter's son)	—	8	—	—	do		
	Srinivasulu, grandson (daughter's son)	—	6	—	—	do		
	Kengudamm, grandson (daughter's son)	—	3	—	—	do		
	Muthusami Raja	Son of No. 19	45	14 9 4	G. O. No. 780, dated 29th November, 1884.	do	At school. Ceylon Government will pay schooling charges on application	
22	Family Janakammal, wife Bugarathayamma, mother Sithayammal, mother-in-law Govindalakshumammal (cousin's daughter) Ramakrishnasami (cousin's son)	— — — — —	25 67 60 8 3	— — — — —	— — — — —	do do do do do	Unemployed. Would accept employment as process server on duti-hand, but in Tanjore we want a different sort of man.	Has no house. Circumstances deplorable. Lives in Puthur outside the Negapatam Municipality to save house rent.
23	Kannusami Raja	Not immediately traceable. Has a separate P.P.O. and draws his pension at Negapatam	20	14 9 4	—	do	Unemployed. Would accept any non-menial post, but is not qualified.	Involved in debt to extent of Rs. 500. Is in bad circumstances.
	Family. Seethayammal, wife Bugarasubbammal, mother	— —	14 50	— —	— —	do do		

From E. TURNER, Esq., Collector of Madura, to the CHIEF SECRETARY to Government,  
dated Uttamapoliem, 23rd August, 1893, No. 79.

With reference to G. O. dated 20th March, 1893, No. 156, Political, I have the honour to submit herewith a statement giving the information called for by Government regarding the condition of the existing Kandyan pensioners.

2. These depend entirely on their pensions, and generally have a large number of dependents hanging on them. They do not educate themselves or make any effort to support themselves by their own exertions, and are therefore generally impecunious and in need of help. Some of them are involved heavily in debt, and find it impossible to extricate themselves. They are all in need of help from the Ceylon Government.

3. A number of pensioners whose pensions were commuted and paid in lump sums have put in petitions that they are also in need of help, but as I have not been required to report on their condition I have made no inquiries about them.

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Statement showing the number and names of the existing Kandyan Pensioners in the District of Madras, and their present condition.

Serial Number.	Names of Pensioners.	Amount of Monthly Pension.	Authority sanctioning the Grant.	Their Children and Dependents.	Number of Persons depending	Their connection to the Royal Family of Kandy	Present Condition of the Pensioners.
1	<b>Dorasami Rajah</b> , aged 67 years	Rs. A. P. 70 0 0	G. O. dated 23rd August, 1856, No. 262, and 15th November, 1884, No. 324.	(1) Wife. (2) A son, aged 12 years, by his fifth wife. (3) A widowed and issueless daughter by his fifth wife. (4) A widowed daughter, aged 30 years, by his third wife. (5) His son Subbusami, by his fourth wife, died, leaving behind— (1) a wife (widow), aged 25 years (2) four sons, viz., Rathakrishnan, aged 10 years; Sinaa Rajah, aged 5 years; and two others, aged 24 and 1 year respectively; (3) a daughter, who is married and has a son aged 12 years residing at Tanjore. (6) A sister, aged 50 years (7) Another sister and her three sons, aged 50, 45, and 3 years (respectively), and a daughter	17	He is the son of Prince Angalasami Rajah, the brother of Laxshmi Ammal, the senior wife of Ke. rili Simhala Maha Rajah, a previous king of Kandy.	He has to maintain the dependents mentioned in column 4, and to educate his son and grandsons. The first two grandsons by his fourth wife are reading at Negapatnam and are under the protection of their maternal uncle, Venkatasami Rajah. His son by his fifth wife is reading at Tanjore. He has put in a petition (enclosed) forwarding copy of a printed petition submitted by him to the Ceylon Government.
2	<b>Sundara Rajah</b> , aged 23 years.	35 0 0	G. O. dated 6th January, 1874, No. 2.	(1) Mother, aged 40 years. (2) Step-sister, aged 36 years (widow). (3) A son (Bungaru Dorah, No. 3 in the list) and two daughters of No. 2, aged 18 and 7 years respectively. (4) A female child of the elder daughter of No. 2	6	He is the brother's son of Dorasami Rajah (pensioner No. 1 in the list.)	He is not yet married. He is becoming involved in debts.
3	<b>Bungaru Dorah</b> , aged 16 years.	2 4 0	G. O. dated 25th March, 1885, M. S. No. 204; 6th November, 1885, M. S. No. 781, and 6th January, 1886, M. S. No. 11.	—	—	He is the son of the sister of Sundara Rajah (No. 2 in the list).	He is a minor not yet sent to school. The allowance is too small but he is under the protection of his uncle (No. 2 in the list).
4	<b>Subbusami Rajah</b> , aged 50 years.	50 0 0	G. O. dated 8th June, 1885, M. S. No. 441.	Son, aged 20 years, and four daughters	5	Son by the first wife of Kumarasami Rajah the adopted son of Alamelu Ammal and Ranganayakkee Ammal, wives of Rajathi Rajah, Simhala Maha Rajah, a kinsman of Kandy.	His son is too old to be educated. His daughters have not yet been married for want of money, though two of them have attained their age. He has contracted debts and has put in a petition, which is enclosed.

Statement showing the Number and Names of the existing Kandyan Pensioners in the District of Madura, and their present condition—*Contd.*

Serial Number.	Names of Pensioners.	Amount of Monthly Pension.	Authority sanctioning the Grant.	Their Children and Dependents.	Number of Persons depending.	Their connection to the Royal Family of Kandy.	Present condition of the Pensioners.
5	<b>Kumaramma Devi</b> , age not known.	Rs. A. P. 25 0 0	G. O. dated 11th March, 1884, M.S. No. 160; 3rd April, 1844, M.S. No. 229; and 28th Jan., 1887, No. 507, Political.	(1) Her eldest sister. (2) Her eldest sister's husband, aged 55 years. (3) Two sons, aged 3½ and 27 respectively, and grandson of No. 1. (4) A maid servant.	6	Second wife of Kumarasami Rajah, father of Muthusami Rajah (No. 4 in the list).	She finds it difficult to support her dependants with her pension.
6	<b>Alamelu Ammal</b> , aged 56 years.	2 0 0	G. O. dated 17th July, 1866, No. 165.	(1) Her husband's brother. (2) His son, aged 16 years.	2	Widow of the deceased Chinnatambiy Naik, <i>alias</i> Subarayalu Naik, a Kandyan pensioner.	The minor son has not yet been educated for want of money. The pensioner is very old and feeble. The allowance given her is far too small. She finds it difficult to maintain herself and her dependants.
7	<b>Rengappa Naik</b> , aged 35 years.	11 10 0	G. O. dated 21st January, 1870, No. 29.	(1) His wife. (2) Mother. (3) Three daughters.	5	Son of the late Rengappa Naik, a Kandyan pensioner.	He finds it difficult to maintain himself and dependants on his pension.

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Part III.

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### SINHALESE AND THE ARYAN LANGUAGES.

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(Continued from Vol. VII, Page 107.)

II.

By M. H. KANTAWALA, C.C.S.

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**H**AVING delineated the principal points of comparison between Sinhalese and the Aryan<sup>1</sup> Languages and demonstrated, (convincingly, I hope), that Sinhalese could be no other than an Aryan offshoot, we shall now attempt to determine its relative position with reference to the linguistic evolution of Northern India.

A little digression is, however, unavoidable. It is not perhaps widely known in Ceylon that John Beames,<sup>2</sup> writing in 1868, makes mention of a language called *Singhalia* which, he says, prevails between Nepaul and Sikkim at the foot of the Himalayas. Beyond venturing a comparison with the name of the Ceylon language (Sinhalese), he goes no further. It would certainly be a fruitful and interesting enquiry if a study could be made of this Himalayan dialect. The 'Sub-Himalayan' languages of Prof. Max-Müller, with their twenty-three branches are certainly Turanian; but the 'Pahri' languages of Prof. Grierson are Aryan; and, if this *Singhalia* belongs to the latter class, some affinity with Sinhalese might be shown to exist.

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1. I should have mentioned earlier that the word 'Aryan' is a misnomer as applied to languages. Philologists do not recognise any such division. But the word *Indic* is too narrow and *Indo-Germanic* too broad. To speak of *Sanskrit* languages would be incorrect, as shown later on. I am therefore of opinion that the word *Aryan* correctly describes the group of languages derived directly or indirectly from a language brought over to India by the Aryans from their ancestral home wherever it was. Nomenclature, after all, matters but little. "A language naturally goes with the race."

2. The monumental work of John Beames entitled "*The Outlines of Indian Philology*" is unfortunately now out of print

As regards Sinhalese itself, Beames, like Mudaliyar Gunawardhana, is guilty of a grave blunder ; he unconsciously groups it with the Dravidian family but his mistake is pardonable and arises from

- (i) his ignorance of the language,
- (ii) his assumption that the Aryans did not migrate 'beyond the beyond' of the Dravidian zone,
- (iii) the supposed impossibility of an Aryan language growing in peaceful isolation—almost 'remote and unfriended,'
- (iv) a mistaken apprehension, probably, that Pali was still the language of the Buddhists,
- (v) the misleading similarity between *Singhalia* and Sinhalese, and
- (vi) the sparseness of the materials at his disposal for compiling a classification.

Can any of these reasons be urged in justification of the conscious mis-statements by the learned Mudaliyar ?

To return to the subject, the Aryans who first migrated to India through the Hindu-Kush brought with them an archaic Aryan dialect of which little or nothing is known ; but we get the first glimpses of its revised and developed form in the *Rigveda* which claims to be one of the oldest pieces of literature extant. Whether the language of this semi-religious exuberance was then used as a mode of colloquial and popular expression is still a matter of controversy ; but the fact is not disputed that, at a later stage of its evolution, the ancient language of the Aryans ramified into two distinct branches : the vulgar and the literary. The former became the vernacular of the masses and began to be known as *Prakrit* (meaning, natural, unartificial from *Pra* and *kri*) ; the latter was a polished and perfected form for literary effusions and received the more glorified appellation—*Sanskrit* (meaning, purified, from *Sam* and *kri*). These two were running hand in hand, even as " the spoken Italian Dialects," in the words of Grierson, " were coeval with Latin." Grammarians like Pānini and *littérateurs* like Kālidāsa championed the evolution of the cultured but complicated Sanskrit which remained a sole medium for *belles lettres*—a beautiful medium, indeed, for the initiated but almost "Double Dutch" for the masses. Plays like *Mrichchakatika* depict, perhaps in mocking irony but certainly with a true sense of reality, the simultaneous co-existence of Sanskrit and Prakrit.

Sanskrit, finding its embodiment as it did in permanent literature, was bound to be stable—unalterable. Prakrit, *per contra*, was a spoken language, easily affected by the changing moods of the multitudes, and, therefore, unstable, 'altering as it alteration found,' capricious, impressionable. Like any other spoken language, it was not foredoomed with fixity—it was plastic—it was subjected to "weathering" in course of time. Its synthetic nature began to be softened, the harsh mixture of consonants came to be eschewed, diphthongs trickled away, the grammar became gradually analytical in structure, and in this transitional stage it flourished till about the Xth Century when we see a number of modern Vernaculars springing into being. These three stages through which Prakrit passed are known as the Primary, Secondary and Tertiary respectively. <sup>3</sup>

When we speak of Prakrit we know it only in its second stage. It was in this period of its development that the Grammarians studied it—that, for instance, Hemchandra, Rushikesh, Goldschmidt and even Pischel describe it ; and it is this period of its existence that we are most concerned with, as all the modern languages, including Sinhalese, can be relegated to Secondary

Prakrit only. It is a 'mistake of fact'—if not a contortion of truth,—to derive the Aryan languages from Sanskrit; they are not. Sanskrit is, at best, their 'first cousin,' claiming origin from the same common source from which they and Prakrit arose.

Secondary Prakrit had had four distinct branches according to the province of Hindusthan in which it was spoken and used, viz., *Sauraseni*, *Magadhi*, *Paishachi* and *Maharashtri*. A fifth division has been recognised by Hemchandra, viz., *Apabhransh*; but, as the name connotes, it would be far more appropriate to regard it as a degenerated form than as a distinct and separate branch; for we find the *Apabhransh* stage in each of the four primary divisions noted above. *Saurashtri*, another division quoted by Dr. Tessitori, is probably an archaic offshoot of *Maharashtri*, just as his *Rajasthanis* are later developmental stages in the history of *Sauraseni*, which is admittedly the sacred language of the Jains.

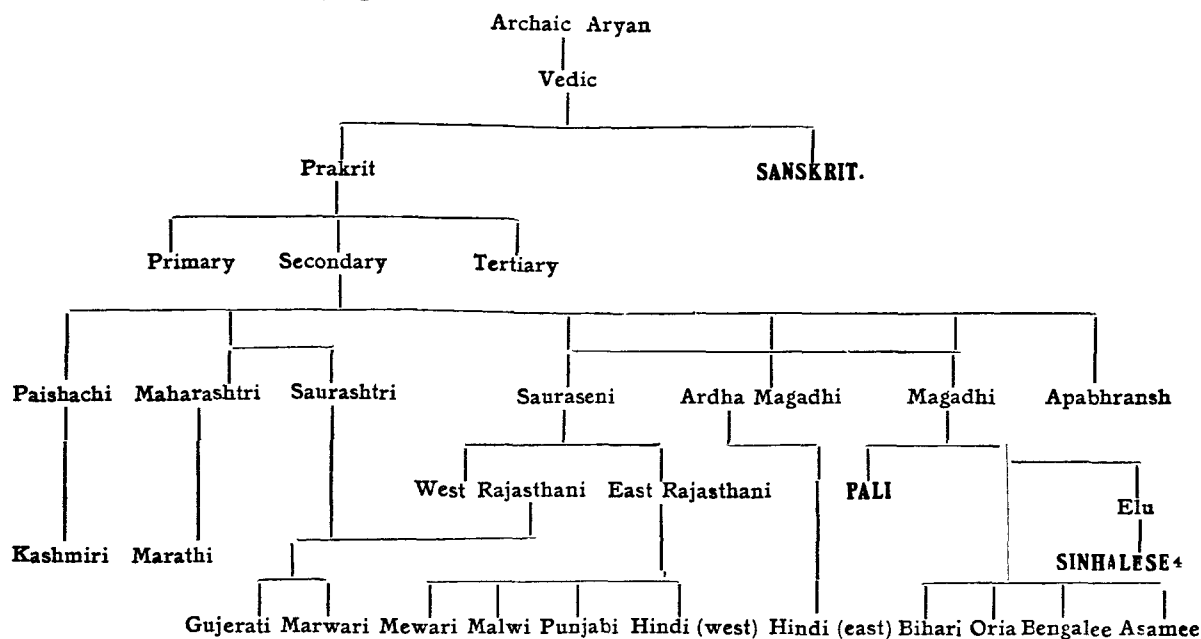
*Magadhi* of Magadhi (Behar) was the language of Lord Buddha and became the sacred tongue of the Buddhists all the world over. In Ceylon it came to be known as Pali. It was this Magadhi, or a branch of it, that King Vijaya brought over to Ceylon with him; it displaced the original Vedda tongue and gradually spread over the length and breadth of Ceylon, eventually giving rise to the modern Sinhalese.

*Paishachi* was a small branch only prevalent in and near Kashmir.

*Maharashtri* was mostly current in the South, over the Deccan, overlapping in part the Dravidian zone.

*Sauraseni* was out and out the best and the purest form of Prakrit.

The following table attempts to describe in a genealogical form the evolution of the modern Indian languages :—



It must not be understood that the sources above depicted are water-tight, definite or conclusive; there may be distinct traces of the other forms of Prakrit in the languages not derived from them. The regions of their influence were overlapping: the people of the one

4. "Sinhali" would be a more appropriate way of describing the Sinhalese language. It is in fact so known in the Indian vernaculars. It would be not only uniform but would correctly describe the language of the 'Sinhala-Dwipa' i.e. Ceylon.

had direct dealings with those of the other : they were affected by the dominion of a common overlord ; and in works of literature, no hard and fast rules were observed. Their distribution was more or less on the same principles as those of the different *patois* of modern France.

There are also distinct traces of either the Semitic or the Turanian languages in many of the present day dialects. The Mahomedans had a long and continuous sway over Northern India since about the Vth Century and gave a wide sprinkling of Arabic and Persian words, just as contiguity to the Himálayan Turanians in the north and the Peninsular Dravidians in the south made a slight *Dravidisation* highly facile and inevitable.

The languages that resisted these inroads were those which, by their geographical position and consequent impossibility of access, were less open to attack and which therefore retained a purer Prakrit form than the rest. Among these may be reckoned Gujerati. Dr. Tessitori,<sup>5</sup> regards as its immediate mother, the old western *Rajasthani* which, in its turn, is developed from the *Sauraseni*-Apabhransh. Rajasthani, as its name suggests, like its parent Sauraseni, was the Prakrit of the Royal families, and its vocabulary in contrast to that of the other Prakrits was more allied to that of Sanskrit. It is for these reasons undoubtedly that I had mentioned that Sinhalese had greater affinity to Gujerati than to the rest, although they seem to be originally derived from different branches <sup>6</sup> of the ancient Prakrit.

5. ' *The Indian Antiquary*, ' Feb. and April 1914. "The Grammar of the old western Rajasthani with special reference to Apabhransh and to Gujerati and Marwari" by Dr. L. P. Tessitori, Undine, Italy.

6. Hemchandra in his 202nd verse says : *मगधेयं मगधेयं मगधेयं मगधेयं मगधेयं* "the rest of the declensions in Magadhi are like those of Sauraseni" (viz. those given in verses 260 to 283). Evidently, these two branches were closely allied from the start.



## THE FIRST ENGLISH SCHOOL IN CEYLON.

By L. J. GRATIAEN.

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IN an article contributed to the *Ceylon Antiquary* (Vol V., Part IV.) Mr. L. J. B. Turner has given an account of the school establishment during the rule of Governor North, and of the school this Governor founded at Wolfendahl for the education of youths who would ultimately join the service of Government. As additional information about this school has come to my hand in the course of a search among the Government archives, I venture to supplement what is already known of the beginnings of this school.

Though Governor North arrived in Ceylon in 1798 he was not able to give his attention to education for nearly a year. This was partly due to the fact that there was no English Clergyman in the Island to whom the business might be entrusted. With the arrival of the Rev. James Cordiner in the third quarter of 1799 the schools began to receive attention, and the Dutch establishments of village schools and orphan houses were in turn re-organised. At the same time it was decided to open a school for the sons of native chiefs which would supply English speaking officers to the various Government departments: in fact, a training school for Interpreters and other holders of native rank. To this scheme was added a similar one for training the boys in the Dutch Orphan House, and other sons of Europeans to be government clerks. This was the origin of the Academy or Seminary at Wolfendahl, the first English school in Ceylon.

At first the institution does not seem to have had a definite name. It was sometimes called the Academy, sometimes the Seminary, sometimes the school at Wolfendahl. And this was not unnatural, for the school was not really a corporate body. It was in fact three schools, instruction being given on the bilingual principle the Sinhalese boys, the Tamil boys ("Malabar" was the term regularly used then for "Tamil") and the European or Dutch boys worked independently of each other, under different masters. Cordiner, as Principal of the Schools, was the head of the whole institution. The Director of the Sinhalese school was Rev. G. Philipsz, a Sinhalese Presbyterian Clergyman, who had as assistant Lienegé Don Louis; the Malabar school was under a Dutch Clergyman, Rev. Schroter, and the European school under Sergeant Thomas Supple. The Sinhalese and Malabar schools were lodged in the same building and later, with the appointment of a common master, ceased to be entirely independent of each other. The European school, however, remained for some years a separate institution.

The three schools were planned as free boarding schools, the Government undertaking to lodge, feed, educate, and even clothe the pupils. When the estimates came to be framed by Cordiner, after discussion with the three masters, they worked out as follows: <sup>1</sup>

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1. Cordiner to North, 22nd Oct., 1799.



			Rixdollars	
Salary of Principal	..	..	3000	..
Cingalese school for support of	30	boys	13,775	.. 9
Malabar	..	..	5,871	.. 6
European	..	..	3,841	..
			<hr/>	
			per annum	26,488 3 rds.
			i.e. £ 2648·16·6	

"The amount will surprise you," Cordiner wrote to the Governor, and went on to refer to "this handsome manner" of treating the boys. The Sinhalese school, for instance, required 30 coats of blue cloth with silver lace; 30 coats of blue silk; 180 shirts, 90 pairs of shoes a year. The boys were to be dressed in keeping with their rank, in the full outfit of a Mudaliyar, long coat, silver lace, and all the rest of it.

The Governor decided the expense was too great,<sup>2</sup> and as only 18 of the 30 Sinhalese boys had been selected, he forthwith cut down the number of Sinhalese boarders to 18. Cordiner had suggested admitting day scholars to the European school on payment of a fee. North extended this to all three schools, and fixed the fee at 10 rds., remarking also "many of the articles of expense may be struck off by degrees without any danger of hurting the Institution by too abruptly shocking the Prejudices of the Children's Parents." Accordingly when the Estimates of the Proposed Ecclesiastical Establishment were forwarded<sup>3</sup> in January, 1800, only 1,500 rds. a month was shown for "the new school at Colombo for Cingalese, Malabars and Europeans," and in January, 1801<sup>4</sup> the expense of the Academy at Wolfendahl was 1,100 rds.

North's tenderness towards the prejudices of the children's parents re-appears in another direction. Cutting down the expense by admitting day scholars led to the question of caste. When Cordiner suggested that the Sinhalese and Tamil boys should occupy the same building<sup>5</sup> he had been careful to explain that "as they are all of high caste, they will have no objection to live near one another." See how cautiously he approaches the difficulty now:<sup>6</sup> "I believe it is not Your Excellency's intention to exclude from our school all the natives unless those of the Vellala caste. But if an unlimited number of Day Boarders be admitted, we might so far gratify their prejudices as to allot for those of the second order a separate apartment. And if that be permitted, it is said, the number of Day Scholars will soon increase." On which it was ordered:<sup>7</sup> "The Governor has no objection to the admission of children of low caste to the schools, provided the regulated sum is paid for their instruction, and proper measures are taken to prevent the prejudices of the higher castes from being unnecessarily shocked."

The date originally fixed<sup>8</sup> for the opening of the school was the 28th of October, 1799. Whether the Cingalese and Tamil schools began on that date I do not know. They certainly began before the end of the year. The European school started on the 7th of January, 1800,<sup>9</sup> when "eight male orphans were taken from the Weys Cama (i.e., Weeskamer-Orphan House) and placed in a House appropriated for an European school, under the care of Mr. Thomas Supple." On the 8th of February, 1800,<sup>9</sup> "H. E. the Governor visited the Cingalese and Malabar schools, when the scholars were examined in the knowledge of the

2. N. to C. (28th Oct., 1799.)

4. With Cordiner's report 6th Feb., 1801.

7. Note on above letter, 22nd Nov.

3. Cord. to Boyd, 11th Jan., 1800.

5. Cord. to North, 22nd Oct., 1799.

8. C. to N. 1st April, 1801.

6. C. to N. 12th Nov., 1799.

9. Note under date 8th Feb. 1801.

English Language and H.E. was pleased to express his approbation of the specimens which they afforded, and distribute rewards to every individual proportioned to their merit." Some months afterwards he wrote in a despatch<sup>10</sup> that "The school which I established last year at Colombo bids fair to answer the purposes of its institution very speedily. Many of the boys, both Malabar, Cingalese and Burghers, have made a rapid progress in the English Language, and will, I hope, soon be capable of being received into the translation office."

Of the actual classwork we are fortunately able to get a view from a report submitted to the Governor by Cordiner in April 1801. It has already been remarked that the school was on a bilingual basis. The Sinhalese boys learned Sinhalese and English, the Tamil boys Tamil and English, and the Burgher boys chiefly English, but some learned Sinhalese and Tamil.<sup>11</sup> This is what Cordiner says of the work in English :—

"The Cingalese scholars who in learning the English Language have no other person to assist them but me, advance as quickly as can be expected. Had they a person constantly residing in the school to speak English with them, they certainly would make a more rapid progress; but as a man every way qualified for such a situation is very difficult to be obtained, perhaps it may be as well that they continue to go on in the manner they have been doing.

"The first class of Cingalese can read 8 pages of an Introduction to Grammar, and 10 of an explanation of the Parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard, great part of which they likewise understand and spell. They can repeat 500 words of the English Vocabulary, and from six to seven hundred phrases for the purposes of conversation. The three eldest write the Cingalese characters very neatly, and likewise a small hand in English tolerably well. They begin to converse in English, and with a very little explanation by means of the Portuguese, they understand everything that I say to them.

"The second class read 8 pages of Grammar, repeat 115 phrases for conversation and the same words of the vocabulary as before. Johannes de Silva, in this class, aged 14 years, gives proofs of superior abilities and persevering attention, and has made the greatest progress in reading and speaking. David Perera, aged twelve years, is likewise very promising, smart and attentive.

"In the third class the boys are very unequal in progress. Three of them read four pages of Grammar and say 25 English phrases, the other four only begin to read and spell. . . .

"The first class of the Malabar School can repeat almost 1,000 words of the English Vocabulary and 150 phrases in conversation. They read the 8 pages of Grammar and 2 pages of the Parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard. Philip Rodrigo Mootekischtnue, aged 11 years, is the smartest and most attentive, and has a very accurate pronunciation. Coomaraswamy, a gentoo, aged 11 years, who came about a month ago to the school and at that time could speak a little English, seems likewise a very promising boy.

"The second class read 8 pages of Grammar and repeat about 1,000 English words, spell pretty well, and read handwriting. The third read 4 pages and repeat the same words, and 3 boys who now compose a fourth class are still learning the alphabet and syllables.

(In the European School) "entered as day scholars Gustavus Adolphus and Samuel William Tranchell, who at present form the first class. They have learned about 50 words and 115 phrases of English and Portuguese, read English tolerably well, write a good hand, repeat the Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed and have entered on the first principles of arithmetic.

"Five orphans, forming the second class, have learned sixty words of a vocabulary and 103 phrases of English and Portuguese, several short prayers of the Church of England and 118 words of spelling. They read pretty well and improve considerably in writing.

"The third class composed of three orphans have learned nearly the same as the second, one boy can write pretty well, and the other two commenced writing the 23rd ultimo.

10. Despatch dated 30th Aug., 1800.

11. Cord. to N. 12th Nov., 1796.

"Two sons of Mr. Ludekens have learned about 170 phrases of English and Portuguese, 100 words of spelling, and read and write pretty well. William Andrew Franciscus and John Mathew Franciscus, sons of a minister of the Gospel sent from Jaffna by Colonel Barbut, will soon be capable of very useful employment. They have learned all the English phrases which we have as yet been able to transcribe. They have learned a few English prayers and made a very considerable progress in the study of the Malabar language, and their conduct all along fully answers the good testimony to their characters which Colonel Barbut sent along with them.

"James and John Ross, sons of the Quarter Master of His Majesty's 51st Regiment of Foot, entered the school the 24th ultimo. They, of course, read better than any other boys in the school, write very well for their age, and have begun arithmetic."

Cordiner, we see, wished the Cingalese boys to have a person constantly residing in the school to speak English with them, but found a man every way qualified was difficult to be obtained. He was obtained soon after in the person of an ex-soldier, Andrew Armour. The first reference to him I have found is a letter from Cordiner to North<sup>12</sup> mentioning the loss to the school owing to the absence of his "very able and zealous assistant, Mr. Armour," "A man, the effects of whose labours become daily more and more visible, and on whose merit I cannot bestow sufficient praise." "Both parents and scholars unite with me in wishing for his return." "The prosperity of the Institution is very nearly concerned in his regular attendance." Mr. Armour was employed as Marshall of the Supreme Court, and was anxious to get back to the school, though the salary was lower, because, as he writes,<sup>13</sup> "the study of the Cingalese language is the principal if not the only means whereby I meant to make myself useful in the settlement," and this opportunity was lost in his new appointment. Armour was released from his duties as Marshall and returned to full-time work in the school in June,<sup>14</sup> part of his pecuniary loss being made up to him by an increase of salary. "He will still lose 25 rds. a month, but is better pleased," writes Cordiner.

The Governor's interest in the school was meanwhile proved in a most practical way.<sup>15</sup> In November, 1801, notice was given that in future His Excellency would receive petitions only in English, and the petitions were to be translated into English at the Wolfendahl school, on payment of a fee, only petitions for the Committee administering charitable funds being translated free. There was a double advantage in this plan: the expense of the schools would be reduced, and the pupils would benefit by the practice in translation. Later the Governor also argued<sup>16</sup> that by this means he had effected an economy in the Translation office, which economy ought to be set against the expense of the school. In conveying to Cordiner the Governor's orders that regulations should be framed for carrying out the plan, the Secretary to Government desired<sup>16</sup> that petitions should not only be translated, but, where long, carefully abridged; and should be revised by the Master before being copied. At first, while the business was new, it went rather heavily,<sup>17</sup> and many applicants had to be refused. Still, from April to June, 1802, the Cingalese school gained 139-0-3 rds. by translating 149 petitions, and the Malabar school 14-5-3 rds. by translating 14.<sup>18</sup> In June, 1802, the Gazette announced<sup>19</sup> that from the first of July petitions would be received by the Governor only if translated at the school, and in July the Sinhalese school translated 92 petitions, gaining 86-5-0 rds.<sup>17</sup> The Malabar school got only 4 petitions and 3-7-3 rds. According to Rev. Schroter<sup>19</sup> the school was quite turned into a translation office. He complained that "this occasions Mr. Armour and me additional pains by day and night. There are only 5 scholars who can be said to translate tolerably; we are

12. C. to N. 19 March, 1802.

15. Arbuthnot to C. 22nd Dec., 1801.

18. Cord. to Arb. 5th July, 1802.

13. Armour to Cord. enclosed in above.

16. Despatch 24th Nov., 1802.

19. Schroter to Arb. 20th July, 1803.

14. Cord. to Arbuthnot, 5th July, 1802.

17. Cord. to Arbuth. 4th Aug., 1802.

obliged to translate the greatest part ; . . . I spend the hours which remain from correcting or translating petitions in teaching the Malabar and the Dutch scholars how to translate into English and back. . . ." From every other point of view the experiment was a success. The fees continued to increase, and the Governor was delighted to receive translations made "with the most perfect accuracy and correctness."<sup>20</sup>

The schools gradually increased in numbers. In April, 1802, there were 85 pupils in the Sinhalese and Tamil schools—36 being boarders.<sup>21</sup> At the same time twelve more boys were transferred from the Orphan House to Supple's school,<sup>22</sup> bringing the total of boarders there to 32, while the day scholars numbered 25. In August the number of boarders in the European school was 35.<sup>17</sup>

By March, 1802, the first appointments from the school to the Government service had already been made,<sup>23</sup> two of the Sinhalese pupils becoming Interpreters to the Provincial Court at Colombo, and by September another Sinhalese and a Tamil pupil were employed.<sup>24</sup>

Meanwhile the Secretary of State was calling the Governor's attention to the need for economy. The despatch of 6 August, 1802, contained "earnest injunctions relative to the system of economy, which will require your utmost vigilance." In October, Cordiner was called upon<sup>25</sup> to submit "in writing your scheme for reducing the expense of the schools as soon as possible."

Cordiner suggested<sup>26</sup> that if orders were given to admit no more boarders, the boarding establishments might gradually be abolished and the schools turned into day schools. At the same time some of the older boys might be taken into Government service. Beyond this he could not go, knowing no way of lessening the charges—650 rds. a month—of the European schools: "the most expensive and the least useful," "without injuring the teachers and the children," and considering that though the monthly expense of the Cingalese and Malabar boarding establishments was nearly 500 rds. out of a total of 895 rds., the work of translation could not be done as well in a day school and "the probable advantage to Government and the children are equal to the charge."

On the intention of Government to lessen the expenses of the Seminary being explained to the staff, Philipsz and Schroter declared that if the day scholars were obliged to pay ever so little the greater part of them would retire from the school.<sup>27</sup> Armour, however, thought<sup>27</sup> that except in the case of "a few day scholars who have learned to read and write so well that they are useful in the school," and who he suggested might be paid part of the fees received for the translations they made, a fee of 1 rd. a month should be charged, and "such as can and will not pay at least 1rd. per month, besides providing themselves with what is necessary for learning, should be permitted to withdraw from the school." In fact he rather welcomed the introduction of fees as likely to be a stimulus, encouraging the boys to take pains, "which is not the case when they are free." For Armour had learnt by observation that his boys "are of such a disposition that they will not put themselves to any expense, for all the learning in the world ; if Government provide books for them, they would learn to read those books, but would not buy a book at the cheapest rate, let its advantage to them be ever so great."

The information available becomes scanty at this point, and it is left doubtful exactly when changes were made. In February, 1803, the pupils numbered 96 made up as follows :<sup>28</sup>

20. Despatch 4th Nov 1802.

21. C. to Arb. 4th April, 1802.

23. Despatch 23rd March, 1802.

26. Cor. to Arb. 9th Oct., 1802.

22. Committee of Supt. to North 9th May, 1802 and C. to Arb. 1st May, 1802.

24. Despatch 10th Sept., 1802.

27. Armour to Cord. 1st Nov., 1802

25. G. Arb. to Cord. Oct. 4th, 1802.

28. Armour to Cor. 1st March, 1803.

Cingalese boarders 23      Malabar boarders 10      Europeans 13 (3 admitted in Feb.)  
 „ day scholars 24      „ day scholars 22      Portuguese 4

From which it seems likely that fees had not yet been required ; for when fees are first mentioned—in the accounts for July <sup>29</sup>—the total for the month is only 33 rds. It will also be noticed from the figures that the European school was the first to suffer. Such of the orphan boys as were apprenticed to a trade or employed in any office were doubtless struck off the roll.<sup>30</sup> The July accounts also state that one-third of the translation money was paid to the translators. The Governor was as averse as Cordiner from any economy that would injure the schools, and represented to the Secretary of State that the Wolfendahl school served as a translation office, was partly self-supporting, and trained men for the service of Government. The Secretary of State was not convinced. Final orders came <sup>31</sup> that “In the school establishment it will be proper that a considerable reduction should be made, and you will therefore not consider yourself at liberty to charge the public revenue with a sum exceeding £1,500 for the purpose of that establishment.” Cordiner was accordingly informed <sup>32</sup> that “His Excellency the Governor having received peremptory orders to confine the expenses of the schools in this Island to £1,500 a year,” the following “suppressions and reductions” were to take place from August 1st :

	Rds.	Rds.
<i>Rev. James Cordiner, Principal of Schools</i>	150	150
Boarding of 28 orphans at rds. 5 per mensem	140	
Contingent expenses including Clothing, Stationery, &c.	100	
Mr. Supple's salary .. .. .	100	
Malabar Teacher .. .. .	15	355
<i>Malabar and Cingaleze Schools.</i>		
Mr. Armour's salary as English Teacher and Superintendent of Translations	150	
Andries Mohandiram, First Cingaleze Teacher	40	
Second Cingaleze Teacher .. .. .	20	
Mr. Morgan's salary as Second English Teacher	40	
First Malabar Teacher .. .. .	25	
Second Malabar Teacher .. .. .	16	
Stationery .. .. .	50	341
Total rds..		<u>846</u>

It will be seen from this that the boarding establishments were swept away. The orphan boys who formed the nucleus of the European School could not be turned adrift ; so Cordiner was ordered to “discover some creditable persons with whom the orphan children can be boarded at the rate of 5 rds. a month, which, it is hoped, will not prove a difficult task.” In 1799 the allowance for their food had been at the rate of 8 rds. and 9 fanams a boy. Among other suppressions was that of house rent. The schools were, therefore, to be removed from Wolfendahl to “Three of the Rooms of the Garden House of Hulfsdorp.” The removal had not yet taken place in October <sup>33</sup>, but no doubt did so soon after. In the estimates for 1804 the school is called “The Native School at Hulfsdorp.”

29. Cord. to Arb. 4th Aug., 1803.

32. 8th July, 1803.

30. See G. Arb. to C. 9th Oct., 1802.

33. Letter from Cordiner 4th Oct. 1803.

31. Despatch of 8th Feb., 1803.

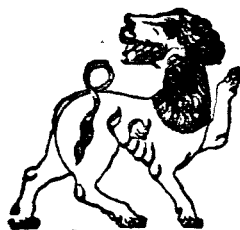
It will be noticed that no reference is made in the estimate given above to Messrs. Philipsz and Schroter, whose services were to be discontinued. Mr. Philipsz, who must have had little work or authority after the advent of Mr. Armour, seems to have taken his dismissal quietly. But Schroter protested,<sup>34</sup> pointing out that Armour knew no Tamil or Dutch, so that "if Government persist in this order, the Malabar and Dutch inhabitants would lose all opportunity to present petitions," and the Malabar and Dutch boys "would lose the explanation of the English in their native languages." The Governor accordingly "suspended the suppression of his salary." Schroter did not live to enjoy it very long, for he died in May, 1804.<sup>35</sup>

At this point it will be well to pause. I have traced the establishment and growth of the first English School in Ceylon, and showed how economy laid its hand upon the flourishing institution. It survived, indeed, but on a humbler scale, and never again did it enjoy the patronage or enlist the enthusiasm of a North or a Cordiner. For at this point it lost its first Principal. Cordiner seems to have felt very deeply the sudden destruction of the whole mission and school system which he had worked so hard to revive, and, taking the opportunity of the arrival in March, 1804, of the Hon. and Rev. T. J. Twisleton, who had been appointed Senior Colonial Chaplain by the Secretary of State almost a year before, Cordiner "considering myself now as deprived of employment" resigned his appointment, and left the Island in June.

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34. Schroter to Arbuth. 20th July, 1803.

35. Letter from Meyer, 8th May, 1804.



## “POPULAR CULTS OF THE JAFFNA DISTRICT.”

By REVD. S. GNANA PRAKASAR, O.M.I.

I have some remarks to offer on Mr. J. P. Lewis' very interesting “Northern Province Notes in the *Ceylon Antiquary* for July, 1921.

A number of proper names have been unfortunately misspelt, almost beyond recognition, e.g., Virupattiran for Virapattiran; Katta Várayár for Káttavaráyan; Kóli for Kotti (?); Karampasi for Kárámpasu; Pútu Rayar for Púta Ráyár; Kadumba for Idumpan; Sabti for Sakti, &c.

Kaṇṇakai is not exclusively worshipped by the Cheḍḍi caste people although she is herself said to be a Cheḍḍi caste woman. In the Jaffna district her temples are found in the following places also: Ankaṇakkaḍavai (Mallákam), Máhiyappiḍḍy, Achcheḷu, Kóppáy and Maḍḍuvil North. The temple in the last named village is known as that of Panrittalaichy-amman (the goddess with a pig's head) and attracts large crowds on the Mondays of the month of Pankuni.

To the four Vishnu temples mentioned by Mr. Lewis add the temple of Kiḍḍiṇan in Maravan Pulo near Navatkuly. There is a Narasinha-Vairavar-Kóvil at Chunnakam. Mr. Coomaraswamy Pulavar, whose residence is in close proximity to it, informed me that it had formerly been a Vaishnavite temple and was later turned into a Saiva shrine with the above name.

Periya-tampirán has also temples in Èlalai, Aḷavedḍy and Távaḷai-yaṭṭálai. The latter is owned by Vellalar. There is an Aiyánár temple belonging to the higher castes at Mallákam where hundreds of goats are sacrificed on the annual feast day.

Curiously enough, the big Náchchimár temple of Vannarponne has the higher castes for its owners. The Pariahs, throughout Jaffna, claim rather Valliyakkan as their exclusive god. He is apparently the chief among twelve Muḍi-Mannar (crowned kings). A stanza<sup>1</sup> which they chant in the shrines consecrated to this god—and they are to be found in every Paraich-chéry—enumerates his chief strongholds thus: “Kannápuram, from where he originally came, Èlalai, Punnálaik-kaḍḍuvan, Achcheḷu, Kóppáy, Puttoor, Varuttalai-viḷán, the two Paḷais, Mannar, Chuḷipuram, Chankánai, Tolvaram, and other places and lastly Chuṇṇákam”—all villages where Pariahs are numerous.

The *Vaiyá* (one of the ‘sources’ used by the author of the *Yálpapaṇa Vaipava-málai*) says that the wives of the fifty-four Vanniyar who had fallen in battle mounted the funeral

1.

கன்னுபுரம் நின்று அந்நாள் நடந்து  
கருதரிய ஏழாலை அதில் மீதுறாந்து  
புன்னுலக்கட்டுவன் அச்செருக் கொப்பாய்  
புத்தூர் உறுத்தலை வளான் பனையிரண்டும்  
மன்னார் சுளிபுரம் சங்கரனை தோல்வரம்  
மற்றுமுள தேசங்களெல்லா முறைந்து  
சன்னாகம் வாழுவரு வல்லியக்கரசனைத்  
தொழுவார்கள் பலவினை தொலைந்துபோய் வீடுமே.

pyre and were deified as the Náchchimár. The sixty Pallar beginning with Vírak-kudumpan and ending with Àriyak-kudumpan, who were the horsemen of the Vannichchis, also burnt themselves to death and received apotheosis as the Aṇṇamár.<sup>2</sup> The derivation of Aṇṇamár from Aṇṇakar is not supported by tradition so far as I am aware. It is a curious fact that devil dancers in Aṇṇamár shrines are supposed to be possessed by Anumár, the monkey god, and are found to exhibit the most grotesque gesticulations of a simious type.

Mr. Lewis' Mári-amman Kóvil, known as Mátávin Kóvil, is in Káraitivu opposite the site of the old Portuguese church of Our Lady of Remedies. The property is now in the hands of the American Mission Protestants. When, some years ago, I visited the spot and questioned the *Poojári* of the temple on the oddness of its name, he answered that the people of those days called it so for fear of the Dutch Government which would not tolerate a Hindu temple there. This was his story. I rather think that when, after the expulsion of the Portuguese, the real Mátávin Kóvil i.e., Our Lady of Remedies (=Aushata or Arókya-Mátávin Kóvil) fell gradually into ruin, the Hindu temple which was founded in what would have been known as Mátávin-Kóvilady came also to be known as Mátávin Kóvil,

As for the equation of Mári-amman with the name of the Blessed Virgin it should be noted that no one, be he Catholic or Hindu, ever calls Our Lady Mari-amman, this being a form of the name Mary found only in some rare poetical works. Even should this poetical form of the name come into general vogue, no native will ever confound it with Mári-amman (a long) just as no native will confound Maḍu (the name of the celebrated Vanni place of pilgrimage) with Máḍu (a cow or a bull)! Educated Hindus do not consider Maḍu as sacred to Mári-amman or any other Hindu goddess. Some ignorant Hindus alone say so, it being understood on all hands that this is merely a make-believe used by them for answering the taunt: "Why do you Hindus go on pilgrimage to a Catholic shrine"?

Pattira Káli does not mean 'Guardian Káli' but the 'auspicious' or 'distinguished' Káli. Pattira is the Skt. Bhadra. Cf. Vira-bhadra.

Péchchi-amman is not connected with Pétti or more correctly Pértý (she from whom the grand child takes the name) but with Pichchu (see Winslow s.v. *ଫିଚ୍ଚୁ*). Peddamma is a distinct goddess. Pedda of course is the Telugu for 'great' and occurs in the Tamil Pettáchchy=grandmother. But Péchchi has e long and could not have been derived from Pedda (e short). I know two Píchchi-amman shrines—one in Siviateru among the Pariahs and the other in Vannarponne east among the Nallavás.

The unclean spirit propitiated on the fifth day after confinement is Kotti (Kóli is a misprint?) It is an irony of history that the greatest goddess of the Tamil people of yore has become now so insignificant. Kotti is identical with the Koṭṭavai, 'the victorious Aiyē' of the Tamil classics! In Vatiry there is a locality called Kotti-kóvil-vaḷavu. Most probably a shrine dedicated to her worship once existed here.

The snake temple of Nayinativu is known as Nákammál kóvil. Present day pundits write Náka-púshany-ammai (goddess wearing snakes as jewels)—evidently a new device to gloss over the Nága origin of the shrine. Náka-tampirán means 'his majesty the hooded snake.' Compare Nalla-tampirán, Nalla-pámpu and Periya-tampirán. I am not aware of any Saiva scriptures where mention is made of a Nága manifestation of Siva or of his wife, although popularly the hooded snake is considered such.

2. The *Vaiyá* is being published for the first time by the present writer. (The Gnānaprakasa Press, Atchuvēly, Jaffna.) See also *Vaiyá pādai*, verse 104.



## SOME BELIEFS AMONG THE SINHALESE.

By WILMOT P. WIJETUNGA.

## I. "‘Evil Eye,’ ‘Evil Mouth’ and ‘Evil Breath.’"

THE belief in the ‘evil eye’ and its associated ‘evils’ is one of the most widespread among the Sinhalese. The existence of the ‘evil eye’—‘*es vaha*,’ (අළුඵ් දික) (literally, ‘the poison of the eye’)—is deemed to be inseparable from that of the ‘evil mouth’—‘*kaṭa vaha*’ (කඳු දික) or ‘poison of the mouth’—and that of the ‘evil breath’—‘*ho-vaha*,’ (හොඳු දික), lit : ‘poison of the breath’ or atmosphere. Therefore, a person who is believed to possess the power of the evil eye is supposed to have the other two ‘evils’ as well, although he might exercise the powers either collectively or separately.

The power of the evil eye is exercised by the admiring gaze directed towards an object by the possessor of the power. This gaze, made without any conscious volition, has the instantaneous effect of destroying or utterly deteriorating the object seen. It is this belief that impels the villager studiously to screen his vegetable garden from the public eye by means of *cadjans*.

When the glance is accompanied by a remark expressing admiration, the latter is called ‘*kata-vaha*,’ which has the same deleterious effect as the former. It is thought that simultaneously with the admiring word or look or with both, the evil person unconsciously exhales a subtle emanation which has a withering influence on whatever person or thing it alights.

With those who are reputed to have the ‘evil eye,’ etc., great care is taken to preclude from view anything that might give vent to their undesired though favourable criticism, such as an exceptionally healthy baby, a particularly flourishing plant or a fine head of cattle.

It is believed that those who possess these ‘gifts’ are quite powerless to restrain themselves from exercising them whenever opportunity occurs. The evil breath is specially to be dreaded as it cannot be detected and counter-agents applied unless accompanied by one of the other two evils.

## Remedies for the “Evil Eye,” etc.

As soon as an expression of praise or admiration which is reckoned evil is made, if there be someone present who wishes to protect the person who is the subject of the remark, he would vehemently contradict it and say something diametrically opposite to show that, so far from the person commented on meriting the praise showered on him, he is exactly the reverse. At the same time, if the subject of the ‘*kaṭa-vaha*’ be present, the contradictor would spit on (or rather make a pretence of spitting at) him to emphasize the feeling of contempt. And even where the victim of the evil mouth is absent, his protector would spit into the air at the former’s imaginary presence.

Where the ‘poison of the mouth’ is not calculated to be very harmful, the above-mentioned method of counteracting its baneful influence would be thought sufficiently safe. But if it is feared to be inefficacious, recourse is had to a treatment of the subject with charmed ‘water’ which is equally effective either for all, or for any one, of the three kinds of the

poison. At early dawn the water is taken into a new earthenware vessel by the 'charmer' who takes care not to talk to anybody till the work is done. The incantations having been repeated the required number of times, the water is given to the 'patient' who drinks a little and splashes his face with some more. The process is repeated three or four times a day for a couple of days. While reciting the spell the 'charmer' stirs the water with a sprig of lime leaves which he leaves in the vessel. The quicker these lime leaves undergo decay and discolouration in the water, the greater is presumed to be the incidence of the evil eye and its cognate 'evils' against the 'patient.'

A still stronger counter-agent against the evil eye and its allies is the ceremony, which, divided into two parts, is known as '*attagaha-meṭirima*' (අත්ත හෙ මැතිරීම) and '*meṭiata-pāravima*' (මැටි අත පාරවීම). The salient feature in the former is the recital of 'mantra' accompanied by the brandishing of a bundle of mango leaves, whilst in the latter the performer utters 'mantra' and also recites verses alluding to incidents in the life of Buddha, bearing in his hands a lump of plastic wet clay ornamented with flowers and a fringe of tender coconut leaf and having a lighted wick in the centre. Even when a person is in the best of health, the ceremony is performed purely as a sort of prophylactic measure, the idea being that one's physical well-being and general prosperity might attract, or have attracted quite unawares, somebody's 'eṣ'-*kaṭa* 'or 'ho'-*vaha*.'

## II. Maledictory and Benedictory Verse in Sinhalese.

*Maledictory Verse* is known as '*vas-kavi*' (වස් කවි) and is composed with the intention of bringing down calamities on an enemy by whom one has been greatly wronged and against whom, as a rule, ordinary retributive measures are either ineffective or unavailable, as for instance when the wrongdoer is unknown. The stanzas are composed at an astrologically maleficent hour or, if the adversary's time of birth is known, at the hour according to his horoscope particularly unfavourable to him. The success and effectiveness of the verses are said to depend as much on the time selected for their composition as on the strict observance of certain laws of prosody.<sup>1</sup> According to these rules of versification, some combinations of long and short sounds in each trisyllabic prosodial foot are 'good' and productive of 'health' 'power,' 'longevity' and 'prosperity,' whilst some others cause 'sorrow,' 'sickness,' 'poverty' and 'death.' Besides this classification of prosodial feet into '*gaṇa*' (ගණ) or 'classes,' the characters of the alphabet are divided into 'evil,' 'human' and 'divine.' Thus both benedictory and maledictory verse, relying as they do on the mystic effect produced by sounds when they are co-ordinated together in a particular hour, partake of the nature of '*mantra*' or magical spells.

Maledictory verses, which are usually stanzas, are addressed to the Kataragama god. The seeker after divine justice takes the *ola* on which the verses are transcribed before the god's image in a Buddhist temple, and after making offerings of flowers, light, and incense, loudly recites the verses containing the invocation. The *ola* is then left suspended from the right hand of the image.

It might be mentioned that in almost every Buddhist vihára, there are images of 'Maha Visnu Deviyo' (Vishnu) and 'Kataragama Deviyo' (Kartikēya, the Hindu war-god and son of Siva) and that some temples have a fame for the certainty and celerity with which the visitations invoked therein arrive.

1. Cf. James de Alwis '*Siddhā Sangarawa*' cxx et seq and p. 75 et seq.

Maledictory verses are composed even against trees and other inanimate objects which are treated as living beings.

Those possessing a reputation as '*vas-kavi*' poets are greatly feared. Amongst well-known composers of verse of this nature were Barana Ganitaya, Kunkunáve Priest and Battaramulle Priest, the last-mentioned of whom died only a few years ago.

The specimen of maledictory verse given below is by Kunkunáve, although the sentiments expressed are scarcely in keeping with the poet's sacerdotal character. They are levelled at some monkeys who had a weakness for the young coconuts on a tree belonging to the priest.

ප හ ව ර වෙන එන රිලවන් ගො	ලීල	A troop of brown monkeys comes towards
ක හ ව ක පුල එන කොට පාටින් අ	ලීල	dusk to lay hands on the coconuts which are
ලොවට පෙණෙනව දෙවියෝ කර එ	ලීල	quite unripe. So that it may serve as a lesson
ග හ ව පණින පිම්බිට කැඩියන් බෙ	ලීල	to the (jungle) world, may the God break the
		necks of these monkeys even whilst in their
		very act of leaping to the tree !

*Benedictory verse* called '*set kavi*' (සෙත් කවි) is composed in various measures although the quatrain is the usual one and addressed to Vishnu. The verses are copied on an *ola* (having been composed first) at an auspicious hour for the benefit of a person suffering from prolonged illness. The rules of prosody already referred to are conformed with in the composition of benedictory verse as well. Somebody on behalf of the patient goes to a Buddhist *vihāra*, and after performing his religious devotions proper, makes offerings at the image of Vishnu. He then invokes the god to take compassion on the afflicted and recites the verses after which the *ola* containing the verses is brought home, again recited in the hearing of the sick person and then generally kept on the tent of his bed. Vows are also made promising offerings to the god should the patient recover.

As an example I give below a stanza by the late Buddhist priest and Sinhalese poet, Mihiripenne. The verses pray for the recovery of a Don Pilippu Vidāne Rāla.

ප සි පු වන දෙන් පිලිප්පු නවින් විදනේ		'The distinguished Don Pilippu Vidāne
රාලට බ ලා		Rāla is labouring under a malady which is not
නොසිදු වන ඔසුමතුරු ඇසකින් නිබෙසි		amenable to medicines nor incantations
හිලනක් පැලිනි ලා		('mantra'). When (or If) you the god who
දෙවි පු මුළුලොව රකින කුළුනෙන් එපිරි		protects the whole world wipe off the said
පන දුරතුරි ක ලා		disease, your renown will spread over the
පු බු පු වෙසි සස පිසුම දියවිල දිනිද දස		earth as surely as the lotus will blossom when
සර එකතු ලා		the rays of the morning sun fall on it.'

### III. "Vasgehima."

The word '*vas-gahanavā*' (වස් ගහනවා) is defined by Clough as 'calamity as the punishment for an arrogant assumption of high rank.'

It is believed that if a person assumes a very high status which he cannot in the ordinary course of things hope to attain, or having somehow attained it is inherently undeserving of the same, the gods would punish him with dire calamities. Thus, even in play-acting when the actors personate gods, kings, saints, &c., the admittedly assumed character does not safeguard the protagonists from the wrath of the gods who presumably wish to keep every man in his place. It is owing to this belief that in almost all Sinhalese dramas from the oldest down to those by Mr. John de Silva, there occur special compositions either at the beginning or at

the end, invoking the gods to withhold their ire from the actors for daring to assume, even for histrionic purposes, the roles of exalted personages which do not belong to them. Failure to take this precaution would result in disaster and death to the actors concerned. Generally the invocation comes at the end of the play when all the participants sing it in a chorus.

#### APPENDIX.

[As of interest in this connection we reproduce the following extract from a recent issue of the "Madras Mail."—ED. *Ceylon Antiquary*.]

#### THE EVIL EYE.

##### An Old Superstition.

Anyone glancing inquisitively at the new houses springing up like mush-rooms in the residential suburbs of Madras will see strange objects—set conspicuously in some prominent position. The forms vary. Most frequent are chatties turned bottom up, spotted with black dots on a white ground or white on black. The outlines of a grinning face sometimes replace the dots. Some builders go to greater expense. Hideous heads are ordered from the local potter whose artistry in the production of gnome-like faces uglier than any gargoyle is often superb. A pair of full length figulines with phallic significance are sometimes employed, but these are more general in out of the way villages than in the fashionable quarters of Madras. As a variation on the general theme two grotesquely dressed figures studded with straw are disposed in amorous attitude on a rubbish heap in front of the rising mansion: it may be fancy, but the tyle of the topee and the cut of the coat are suspiciously like the affectations of a local European celebrity and the lady, too, seems modelled on familiar lines.

##### The Malign Influences

The employment of these strange devices is visible proof of the persistence of an old and world-wide superstition, that of the "evil eye." There are few countries where it does not exist—even in England a cow may cease to give milk through being "overlooked," but it is in India and in Italy, that one sees it in evidence open and unabashed, possibly the heritage of a common origin from the Mediterranean race. Devices against this dread power are specially numerous in the Tamil districts of Southern India. Its malign influence affects principally buildings under construction, newly planted crops, valuable cattle, especially cows in milk, and young children. Special precautions must, therefore, be taken to protect these. Some of the more common used to prevent harm happening to new houses have already been mentioned, but the list is far from complete. It must be so, for, after all, there is no special virtue in the object used apart from its power to distract the attention of the unfortunate owner of this troublesome attribute. His eyes must be diverted from the house itself to the amulet set up for the purpose. Even a pumpkin or a branch of cactus hung up in a conspicuous place is considered by many as adequate for this purpose. The impress of a hand in white, often repeated upon the walls, is another device of the same class.

##### Scarecrows and Gargoyles.

In the fields and gardens, a white-washed chatty is most frequently employed. Set in the midst of verdure it cannot fail to catch the passer's eyes—the object sought. To make assurance doubly sure, several white chatties may be hung from the twigs of a tree branch just as in the Malay Archipelago egg shells are suspended from the branches of a leafless plant. The skulls of oxen with the horns attached, a discarded sandal, and a branch of cactus are

also employed. Lastly, and most ambitious we got the representation of a man, made of twisted straw and clothed with a few rags—reckoned the most powerful protection of all. Incidentally it is curious to note that in England a similar "scare-crow" is still common in fields and gardens, belying the significance of its designation, but attesting the conservatism of man in regard to old customs even when knowledge of the original meaning has been lost or perverted. The English scare-crow is certainly evidence of a former belief in the evidence of this evil-eye as is the nailing of a horse-shoe above the door. Another English survival, its purport forgotten, is the use of gargoyles on churches and cathedrals. These grotesque ornaments are the equivalents of the hideous heads used for set purpose on Madras houses and of the Gorgon heads similarly employed by the ancient Greeks.

### Personal Adornments.

The small conch shells tied upon the foreheads of bullocks or under the necks of milch cows and buffaloes have the same purpose. They are protective amulets. Even favourite goats and sheep are sometimes so defended from danger. Bead necklaces have a similar purpose when hung round the neck of animals. Who can doubt, indeed, that the employment of beads and bangles by the human race had its origin in their use as amulets against the evil-eye and other malignant influences. Feminine love of the barbaric in the enhancement of the charms of her person certainly is not the primary reason for the use of bead and shell ornaments in the decoration of the human throat and arms. Among savage races the man employs these equally with the woman—indeed often to a far greater extent. At the back of it all is the idea of protection from evil spirits. It begins in childhood. Even yet in India, the loved baby has some amulet put on soon after birth, usually a string of beads or a tiny bangle made from the sacred conch or chank. From the use of an object as an amulet to its employment purely decoratively is an easy transition. The single bead hung round a child's neck is added to and becomes a necklace; the simple ring of shell put on the wrist is ornamented by carving, and later is imitated in metal—brass, silver and gold—and becomes eventually a most elaborate and expensive bracelet set with jewels.

### Quaint Amulets

In India the only colour valued in forming devices against the evil-eye is white or more rarely pale blue. The reason is obvious. The object must be conspicuous and no colour stands out so well on a dark skin as does white. In Italy and Sicily, white is less conspicuous on the paler skins of the people and red takes its place. It is probably due to this fact that Mediterranean coral is so highly valued in personal adornment and for the little trinkets so loved of the Italian. There must be few Italians who do not carry several little evil-eye amulets. Usually they are hung on the watch-chain in the case of men; women carry them hung from a necklace or in the form of a brooch. All sorts of quaint figures are fashioned for this purpose in coral, silver, or gold. Among the more common are those of a hand making the sign of the horns, a phallic emblem, a hunchback, and a skull. In Sicily farm hands often wear a red cross sewn somewhere inside their clothes. This development is curious, for ordinarily the evil influence is averted by distracting the glance of the person possessing it. For this purpose the nodding head-plume of a Sicilian horse is made of scarlet feathers; the reins occasionally are of the same colour. Even the sanctity of God's House does not avail in Sicilian opinion to counter the danger of the evil-eye, as witness the flaunting red tassels hung from the handsome candelabra of the Cathedral of San Guiliano.

## THE PETA—VATTHU.

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By DR. HENRY SNYDER GEHMAN.

(Continued from Vol. VI, Page 213.)

### BOOK TWO.

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#### I. The Peta Story of the Release through Transmigration.

(Conversation between the Thera Sāriputta and a Petī.)

**SARIPUTTA.** 1. "Naked and of hideous appearance are you, emaciated and with prominent veins. You thin one, with your ribs standing out, who are you now, being here?"

**Petī.** 2. "I, venerable sir, am a Petī, the wretched Yamalokikā; since I had done a wicked deed, I went from here to the world of the Petas."

**Sāriputta.** 3. "Now what evil deed was done with your body, speech, or mind? In consequence of what act have you gone from here to the world of the Petas?"

**Petī.** 4. "Reverend sir, I did not have compassionate relatives, father and mother, or even other kinsmen who would urge me, saying, 'Give with a serene mind a gift to the monks and the brāhmans.'"

5. "From that time for five hundred years in this form I have been wandering, nude, consumed by hunger and thirst; this is the fruit of my wicked deeds."

6. "With a serene heart I worship you, Lord, O wise, powerful one, pity me. Go, give some gift in my name; free me from my misery, O venerable one."

**Narrative.** 7. Consenting with the words, "Very well," the compassionate Sāriputta gave to the monks a morsel, a handful of clothes, and a bowl of water and ascribed to her the donation.

8. Immediately thereupon, when this was beheld, the result was produced. This was the fruit of the gift: food, clothing and drink.

9. Then pure, having clean garments, wearing the best Benares cloth, dressed in various kinds of clothes and ornaments, she approached Sāriputta.

**Sāriputta.** 10. "O goddess, of excellent appearance you are, you who are illuminating all the regions like the morning star."

11. "As a result of what do you have such an appearance? On account of what is happiness your portion here, and why fall to your lot whatever pleasures are dear to the heart?"

12. "This I ask of you, goddess, very powerful one, you who have become human: What good deed have you done? Whence have you such radiant power, and why does your figure illuminate all the regions?"

*Peti.* 13. "Me, with all my bones exposed,<sup>1</sup> emaciated, famished, naked, with wrinkled skin, you merciful seer have seen here in my misery

14. "When you gave to the monks a morsel, a handful of clothes, and a bowl of water, you transferred to me the virtue of the gift.

15. "Behold the fruit of the morsel : loving pleasure, I enjoy for ten hundred years food with many flavors and sauces.

16. "Behold what sort of result there is from the handful of clothes : as many coverings as there are in the kingdom of Nandarāja.<sup>2</sup>

17. "Venerable sir, I have more than that number of garments and coverings, silken and woollen, linen and cotton ones.

18. "Many and precious are they : moreover, they are hanging in the sky ; and I wear whichever one, I assure you, strikes my fancy.

19. "Behold what sort of result there is from the bowl of water : four deep, well laid out lotus-ponds.

20. "They have clear waters and beautiful banks : they are cool and free from unpleasant odors : they are covered with the pink lotus and the blue lotus and full of the filaments of the water-lily.

21. "I for my part enjoy myself, play, rejoice, having no fear from any quarter. Reverend sir, I have come hither to the world to worship you, compassionate seer."

## II. The Peta Story of the Mother of Sāriputta.

(Conversation between the Thera Sāriputta and a *Peti*, his mother.)

*Sāriputta.* 1. "Naked and of hideous appearance are you, emaciated and with prominent veins. You thin one, with your ribs standing out, who are you now, being here?"

*Peti.* 2. "I was your mother, previously in my other existences. I was born in the Peta-world, afflicted with hunger and thirst.

3. "Vomit, the excretion from sneezing, phlegm, mucus from the nose, rheum, the fat of burning bodies, and the blood of delivered women ;

4. "And the blood both of the wounded and of those whose noses and heads are cut off, in short whatever is connected with men and women, I, half dead with hunger, eat.

5. "Pus and blood I eat of animals and of men : I am without refuge and without a home, lying upon the black bed (i.e. the funeral pyre.)

6. "Give, dear son, a gift for me, and when you have given it, ascribe to me the credit ; perhaps I might be freed from eating pus and blood."

1. *Uṇhāṇa*.

Variante readings: M D and P, *Uṇhāṇa*, showing jaundice, having a jaundice color.

C, *Uṇhāṇa*, suffering from itch.

2. Nandarāja. It is said that, in pre-*ṛit* time, there was a certain inhabitant of *Penries*, a household, who, while wandering about on foot in the forest, saw a *Pratveka-luchas* to whom he gave his upper garment. When the householder died, he was reborn in the *Tāvarama* heaven. Afterwards he was born in a village, a *yojana* distant from Benares, in the family of the king's minister. Once, when he was a youth, he wished to attend a certain festival which had been proclaimed, so he asked his mother for a cloak. She gave him a garment, but he said it was too coarse. She took out another and gave it to him, but he rejected it also. The mother then said that in their circumstances she could not afford finer clothes. The youth replied, "Mother I am going to a place where I can obtain it." "Go my boy," said the mother. "I hope that even to-day you will obtain so elegantly in the city of Benares." Thus encouraged he went to that city, and having covered his head with his cloak, he lay down on a stone slab. It happened that the king had been dead for seven days, and since he had no other offspring but a daughter, it was necessary to choose a king by lot. According to Hindu custom, fouribly-white Sindh horses were hitched to the royal chariot into which were placed the five emblems of royalty. The horses were allowed to roam at will and went in the direction of the pleasure garden, where, having the youth to the right of the wagon, they stopped. He had, therefore, been chosen king by lot and was accordingly anointed after which they placed on him a robe worth a hundred thousand pieces. King Nandarāja proved to be a liberal ruler. When the *Pratveka-luchas* came, he gave them gifts. Nandarāja wore celestial garments for ten thousand years and gave supernatural clothes to all comers.

*Narrative.* 7. After he had heard his mother's speech, the compassionate Upatissa<sup>3</sup> summoned Moggallāna,<sup>4</sup> Anuruddha,<sup>5</sup> and Kappina.<sup>6</sup>

8. Having made four huts, he gave them to the Church of the four regions ;<sup>7</sup> he designated the huts, the food and the drink as a gift of his mother.

9. Immediately afterwards, when this was beheld, the result was produced : of the gift this was the fruit : food, drink, and clothes.

10. Thereupon, pure, having clean garments, dressed in the best Benares cloth and ornaments, she approached Kolita.<sup>8</sup>

*Sāriputta* 11. "O goddess, of excellent appearance you are, you who are illuminating all the regions like the morning star.

12. "As a result of what do you have such an appearance ? On account of what is happiness your portion here, and why fall to your lot whatever pleasures are dear to the heart ?

13. "This I ask of you, goddess, very powerful one, you who have become human: What good deed have you done ? Whence have you such radiant power, and why does your figure illuminate all the regions ?"

*Peti.*<sup>9</sup> 14. "Through the gift of Sāriputta I am happy, having no fear from any quarter. Reverend sir, it is you, the merciful seer here in the world that I have come hither to worship."

### III. The Peta Story of Mattā.

(*Conversation between Tissā and a Peti named Mattā*).

According to the commentary on this story, there once lived in Sāvattthi a believing and kind householder who had an unbelieving and wrathful wife named Mattā. Since she was barren and he feared that his family line, which was a distinguished one, would become extinct, he married a young woman named Tissā, of good family, who had a kind disposition and religious faith. Ten months later she bore him a son named Bhūta. When Mattā saw that her co-wife was their husband's favourite, she became jealous and annoyed Tissā. In consequence of her cruelty to her fellow-wife, she suffered in the Peta-world.

*Tissā.* 1. "Naked and of hideous appearance are you, emaciated and with prominent veins. You thin one, with your ribs standing out, who are you now, being here ?"

*Mattā.* 2. "I am Mattā, you are Tissā ; formerly I was your fellow-wife. In consequence of having done an evil deed, I have gone from here to the world of the Petas."

*Tissā.* 3. "Now what evil deed was done with your body, speech, or mind ? As a result of what act have you gone from here to the world of the Petas ?"

*Mattā.* 4. "Both wrathful and unkind was I, envious, niggardly, and deceitful. Since I used abusive language to you, I have gone from here to the world of the Petas."

3. Upatissa, the proper name of Sāriputta (Sār.'s son), who is generally called by the latter name.

4. Moggallāna, one of the chief disciples of the Buddha.

5. Anuruddha, a cousin and eminent disciple of the Buddha ; he was present at his death in Kusinārā.

6. Kappina, probably also a disciple of the Buddha.

7. I. e. the Church Universal.

8. Kolita, another name of the disciple Moggallāna ; in the present instance it appears to refer to Sāriputta.

9. This stanza is added by MS. B.



*Tissā*. 5. "I too know it all, how violent you were ; but there is something else now which I shall ask you Why are you covered with dirt ? " <sup>10</sup>

*Mattā*. 6. " You had washed your head and were dressed in clean clothes ; and I forsooth was still more so ; I was more adorned than you.

7. " While I was thus bedight and was looking on, you were talking with our husband. On account of that great jealousy and wrath arose in me.

8. " Then I took some dirt, and you forsooth I bestrewed with dust In consequence of that deed I am covered with sand."

*Tissā*. 9. " Verily I know it all ; you sprinkled me with dust. But there is something else now which I shall ask you, why are you eaten up with the itch ? "

*Mattā*. 10. " Both of us taking simples, we went into the forest. You took the remedies, and I the fruits of the *kapikacchu*. " <sup>11</sup>

11. " Then without your knowledge, I scattered them over your bed. In consequence of this deed I am devoured with the itch."

*Tissā*. 12. " Verily I know it all ; you bestrewed my bed But there is something else now which I shall ask you : Why are you nude ? "

*Mattā*. 13. " There was an assembly of friends ; a gathering of kinsmen took place ; and you were invited with our husband, while I was not.

14. " Then, without your knowledge, I took away your garment. In consequence of this deed I am naked."

*Tissā*. 15. " Verily I know it all. You took away my clothes. But now something else I shall ask you : Why do you have an odour of excrement ? "

*Mattā*. 16. " Your perfume and garland and new ointment I threw into the cesspool. This evil deed was committed by me. In consequence of this conduct I give out a smell of ordure."

*Tissā*. 17. " Verily I know it all ; this evil was done by you. But now something else I shall ask you, why are you in distress ? "

*Mattā*. 18. " Whatever property existed in our house, belonged to both of us equally ; although there were opportunities of giving gifts, I did not provide for myself a refuge. As a result of this deed I am in misery.

19. These very words you told me : ' You are practising wicked deeds : for not with evil works will you easily obtain bliss.' "

*Tissā*. 20. " Wrongly do you understand me ; and you also envy me. Behold of what nature is the punishment of evil deeds.

21. " You had maid-servants in the house ; verily also those various ornaments of yours ; these are now enjoyed by others Pleasures are not eternal.

22. " Now the father of Bhūta will come home from market. Perhaps he will give you something. Pray do not go away immediately."

10. Hardy's text reads *paṃsukutthitā*, (leptous with dirt) ; in our translation we follow the reading of C. D. and B. *paṃsukutthitā*, 'dallei with dust' 'blunted with dust', i.e. 'covered with dust'. The meaning is clear from the commentary. *kenāsi paṃsukutthitā ti te sa khamanā s. n. āpamaśā hānathitā* (oggyathitā) sabbaso okkhamasāra āhū ti ottho. Hardy, p. 302 Ed. of Dhammapāṭha. *Parameśtha-Dīpanī* Pāli Text Society, 1884, says: "neither *katthitā* nor *kutthitā* seems to be the right reading." He emends *paṃsukutthitā* to *paṃsugutthitā*. The root *guth* means "to surround," "to envelop," "to cover," and so the emendation would give us the meaning that we need in the context. But it is not necessary to emend. If no semantic change was involved as suggested above, the root *kutth* could easily assume the meaning of *guth*, since the only difference between the two roots is that the former has an initial surd and the latter an initial sonant. The fact that in Sanskrit the root *kutth* had assumed the meaning of *guth*, makes us feel that the reading of C. D. and B is correct.

11. They were rough. The commentary says, *kapikacchuphalāni dupphasaphalāni*.

*Mattā.* 23. "Naked and of ugly appearance am I, lean and with my veins standing out on the surface. Here is my shame exposed ; let not the father of Bhūta see me."

*Tissā.* 24. "Come, what shall I give you, or what shall I do for you in order that you may be happy and blest with the fulness of all pleasures ?"

*Mattā.* 25. "Here are four monks from the congregation and four as individuals. Feed these eight monks and transfer to me the credit of the gift. Then I shall be happy, blest in the fulfilment of all desires."

*Narrative.* 26. She assented, saying : "Very well," and fed the eight monks. She clothed them with garments and ascribed to her the virtue of the gift.

27. Immediately thereupon, when this was beheld, the result was produced. This was the fruit of the gift : food, clothes, and drink.

28. Then pure, having clean clothes, wearing the best Benares cloth, dressed in various kinds of garments and ornaments, she approached her co-wife.

*Tissā.* 29. "O goddess, of excellent appearance you are, you who are illuminating all the regions like the morning star.

30. "Why do you have such a form ? Why is happiness your portion here and why fall to your lot whatever pleasures are dear to the heart ?

31. "This I ask of you, goddess, you very powerful one, who have become human : What good have you done ? Why are you of such radiant power and why does your figure illuminate all the regions ?"

*Mattā.* 32. "I am Mattā, you are Tissā. Formerly I was your fellow-wife. In consequence of having done an evil deed, I went from here to the Peta-world. Through the gift presented by you I rejoice, having nothing to fear from any quarter.

33. "May you live long, sister, with all your kinsfolk. May you attain the place free from sorrow and passion, the dwelling of the Vasavattins.<sup>12</sup>

34. "Here living a religious life and giving gifts, beautiful one, may you remove the stain of selfishness together with its roots and enter heaven blameless !"

#### IV. The Peta Story of Nandā.

(Conversation between Nandasena and Nandā, his wife, now a *Peti*.)

*Nandasena.* 1. "Dark and of ugly appearance you are ; your body is rough and you are horrible to behold ; reddish-brown<sup>13</sup> you are, tawny are you. I do not believe that you are a human being."

*Peti.* 2. "I am Nandā, Nandasena : formerly I was your wife. For having committed an evil deed, I went from here to the world of the Petas."

*Nandasena.* 3. "Now what sin was committed by your body, speech, or mind ? In consequence of what deed have you gone from here to the world of the Petas ?"

*Peti.* 4. "I was wrathful and rough in speech,<sup>14</sup> and I also showed no reverence to you. Therefore, for using abusive language, I went from here to the world of the Petas."

*Nandasena.* 5. "Come, I shall give you a cloak ; put on this garment. When you have put on the tunic, come ; I shall lead you home.

12. Vasavattī, Skt. Vāṣavartin, a class of gods.

13. Commentary : *piṅgalā* ti *piṅgalalocanā*, 'having reddish-brown eyes' ; *kalārā* ti *kalārādantā*, 'having tawny, i. e. yellowish teeth'.

14. Hardy's text reads, *Candīca pharusā cāsi*. Cf. S1 and S2 *candapharusacācā* which is followed in the translation.

6. "Clothes and food and drink you shall obtain, if you go home. You shall behold your sons, and you shall see your daughters-in-law."<sup>15</sup>

*Peti.* 7. "What is given by your hand into mine does not profit me. But the monks, abounding in piety, free from passion, and learned,

8. "These may you refresh with food and drink and transfer to me the benefit of the gift. Then I shall be happy, blest in the fulfilment of all desires."

*Narrative.* 9. Then promising with the word "Good," he gave<sup>16</sup> many presents : food, drink, solid food, clothes, dwellings, umbrellas, perfumes, wreaths, and various kinds of sandals. After he had refreshed with food and drink the monks who were abounding in piety, free from passion and learned, he transferred to her the virtue of the gift.

10. Immediately afterwards, when this was perceived, the result was produced. Of the gift this was the fruit : food, clothes, and drink.

11. Then pure, having clean clothes, wearing the finest enares cloth, bedecked with various garments and ornaments, she approached her husband

*Nandasena.* 12. "O goddess, of excellent appearance you are, you who are illuminating all the regions like the morning star.

13. "As a consequence of what do you have such a form ? Why is happiness your portion here, and why fall to your lot whatever pleasures are dear to the heart ?

14. "I ask you, goddess, very powerful one, you who have become human, what good deed have you done ? Why have you such radiant power, and why does your figure illuminate all the regions ?"

*Peti.* 15. "I am Nandā, Nandasena ; formerly I was your wife. For having committed an evil deed, I went from here to the world of the Petas. On account of the gift given by you, I rejoice, being free from fear from any quarter.

16. "May you live long, householder, with all your kinsfolk : may you attain the place free from sorrow and passion, the dwelling of the Vasavattins.

17. "Here living a religious life and giving gifts, householder, may you remove the stain of selfishness together with its roots and enter heaven blameless."

#### V. The Peta Story of Mattakundali.<sup>17</sup>

*(A wealthy, but niggardly Brahman is converted to Buddhism by his departed son, who returns as a Peta.)*

*Father.* 1. "You are adorned, you have polished ear-rings, you are wearing garlands, and you have an abundance of yellow sandal wood. Yet you stretch out your arms and wail. Why are you in distress in the midst of the forest ?"

*Son.* 2. "A golden, shining chariot body was produced for me : its pair of wheels I cannot find. On account of this misery I shall die."

*Father.* 3. "(A chariot body) golden, made of jewels, of rubies also and of silver, you show me, my dear young fellow. A pair of wheels I shall provide for you."

4 The youth said to him : "The sun and the moon on both sides are seen. My golden chariot with that pair of wheels will be radiant."

*Father.* 5. "A child indeed you are, young man, you who wish for that which is not to be desired. I think you shall die ; not will you obtain the sun and the moon."

15. *Sinhalese* M. D. and B. read *gā* 'go' which is accepted in the translation.

16. Text *ā* 'to' *ā* 'to' C 1 a MS. of Minayeff's collection, has *ā* 'to' *ā* 'to' and *ā* 'to'.

17. *Peta-Va. nu* II, 5. *Phanā* *uttara* VII, 9. The name *Mattakundali* means 'having burnished ear-rings.'

**Son.** 6. " Their rising and setting, however, are visible; the element of form in both cases is discerned in their course. The departed who has died is not seen. Who of those that lament in this world is not rather foolish ? "

**Father.** 7. " The truth indeed you speak, young man ; I being one of those that wail. am rather dull-witted. As a child crying for the moon is foolish, so, departed one, am I, who am greatly yearning for my deceased son.

8. " Me, burning, being like fire over which ghee had been poured, you sprinkled <sup>18</sup> with water, as it were. Now I put an end to all my suffering.

9. " You who drove from me, half dead with grief, the sorrow for my son, you removed forsooth from me the pain, the gloom that resided in my heart.

10. " Now I am relieved of my distress: calm am I and serene. I neither mourn nor weep, since I have heard you, my boy.

11. " Now you are a deity, a Gandhabba, yea you are Sakkha Purindada (i.e. Indra). Who are you ? Whose son are you ? How are we to know you ? "

**Son.** 12. " I am he whom you bewail and whom you lament, your son, whom you yourself burned in the cemetery ; and since I had done good works, I obtained companionship with the gods."

**Father.** 13. " Neither little nor much did I see of your giving gifts in my house nor such observance of the Sabbath.<sup>19</sup> On account of what deed have you come to the *devaloka* ? "<sup>20</sup>

**Son.** 14. " I was ill, miserable, and unwell ; in my own house I had a sickly appearance. Me, enlightened, free from passion, relieved from doubt, fortunate, of lofty wisdom, you have beheld.

15. " I myself, being of joyful mind and having tranquil thought, saluted the Buddha. Therefore, because I performed a good deed, I obtained association with the gods."

**Father.** 16. " Verily a wonderful miracle is this ; such is the result of the performance of a salutation. I also am joyful in mind and tranquil in thought. To-day for the first time do I take refuge in Buddha."

**Son.** 17. " Beginning with to-day, with a tranquil mind find refuge in Buddha, the Law and the Church. Likewise solemnly undertake to keep whole and unbroken the five precepts.<sup>21</sup>

18. " From the taking of life refrain without delay ; in the world reject that which is not given to you ; do not indulge in strong drink and do not speak falsely ; and be content with your own wife."

**Father.** 19. " You desire to be useful to me, O Yakkha ; you are my well-wisher, O deity. I will perform your word ; you are my teacher.

20. " I fly to Buddha as my refuge and also to the supreme Law ; and I go to the Church of the king for refuge.

18. *Osāñci* ; cf. P. V, 1, 8, 5, *varinā mya osāñcam* where MSS. M. C. S1. and S2 read *osāñci*.

19. Uposatha, the Buddhist Sabbath or fast day. The Uposatha day is a day of religious observance and celebration for laymen and priests and corresponds in a vague manner to our Sunday. It occurs four times in the month, viz., on the day of the full moon (*pañcadasi*), on the day when there is no moon (*cātuddasi*), and on the two days which are the eighth from the full and new moon (*atthami*) ; it is therefore a weekly festival. On the Uposatha days laymen dress in their best clothes, and such of them as are religiously disposed abstain from trade and worldly amusements, and take upon themselves the Uposatha-vows, i. e. to say, they go to a priest and make him their witness to their intention to keep the eight *Sīlas* during the day. These eight *Sīlas* prohibited the destruction of life, theft, impurity, lying, the use of intoxicating liquors, eating at forbidden hours, attending worldly amusements, and the use of unguents and ornaments. Two of the four days are days of confession for the priests.

20. *Devaloka*, the world of the gods.

21. The five precepts are the first five of the eight *Sīlas*. Cf. Stanza 18 and the father's reply in 21.

21. "From the taking of life I will abstain immediately. What is not given me in the world, I will reject. I will not indulge in strong drink and I will not speak falsely. Also I will be content with my own wife."

#### VI. The Peta Story of Kaṇha.<sup>22</sup>

According to the commentary there were in the city of Dvāravati ten royal brothers. Of these one was called Vasudeva (also known as Kaṇha or Kesava). On account of the death of his son he was in mourning, and so in order to show him how foolish it was to lament, his brother, Ghaṭapaṇḍita disguised himself as a madman and wandered through the city, looking at the sky and saying, "Give me a hare, give me a hare." The king's minister Rohiṇeyya reported the supposed madness to Vasudeva, and the conversation of the story ensued. The Peta does not appear in this tale.

*Rohiṇeyya.* 1. "Arise, Kaṇha. Why are you lying down? What good does sleep do you? He who is your own brother, your heart and right eye, is overpowered by the winds. Ghaṭa is prattling, Kesava."

*Narrative.* 2. When he heard this statement of Rohiṇeyya, Kesava with a flurried look arose, oppressed with grief for his brother.

*Kaṇha.* 3. "Why now like a mad one do you roam through the whole city of Dvāravati and mutter, 'A hare, a hare'? What kind of a hare do you want?"

4. "I shall have a hare made for you of gold, of jewels, of copper, of silver also, of shells, stones, and coral.

5. "There are also other little rabbits running in the woods and forest; these also I shall send to you. What kind of a hare do you want?"

*Ghaṭa.* 6. "I do not want these hares, the rabbits that inhabit the earth; the hare of the moon I wish; that one bring down to me, Kesava."

*Kaṇha.* 7. "Now,<sup>23</sup> my kinsman, you will surely relinquish your sweet life. You yearn for something that is not to be desired in that you wish for the hare of the moon."

*Ghaṭa.* 8. "If, Kaṇha, you are so wise as you teach another, why do you still to-day<sup>24</sup> mourn for your son that died in the past?"

9. "What is not possible for man or even for a spirit, whence can the unattainable be acquired that the son born unto me should not die?"

10. "Not with incantations, nor with drugs from roots, nor with herbs, nor with wealth is it possible, Kaṇha, to bring hither the departed one whom you mourn.

11. "The very wealthy, those owning many goods, also those possessing kingdoms, and the warriors, they who are opulent with abounding riches, these also are not free from old age and death.

12. "The Khattiyas,<sup>25</sup> the Brāhmans, the Vessas, the Suddas, the Caṇḍālas, the Pukkusa, both these and others with their lineage, they too are not free from old age and death.

13. "They who read aloud the Veda, the six Aṅgas which were thought out by Brahma, both these and others with their knowledge, these also are not free from old age and death.

22. For this story cf. *Jūtaka*, Fausboll, IV, p. 79 sqq.

23. *Nanda*: read *nāna* as in *Jūtaka*; cf. *nana* in M, C, and D.

24. *Ajāpi*: read *ajjāpi* as in M, C, D. and B.

25. *Khattiya*, Skt. *kshatriya*, a man of the warrior caste; *vessa* Skt. *vaiśya*, a trader or farmer; *sudda*, Skt. *śūdra*, a man of the lowest of the four original castes; *caṇḍāla*, a man of the lowest and most despised of the mixed castes (born of a *śūdra* father and a *brāhmaṇa* mother); *pukkusa*, Skt. *pukkaṣa*, *pullasa*, of a despised caste (said to be one whose occupation is throwing away dead flowers).

14. " Verily the Rishis also who are righteous men, as ascetics who have subdued themselves, these, also, the mendicants leave the body at the proper time.

15. " They who in their sojourn have trained themselves by meditation, those whose duties are fulfilled, and they who are free from human passion, cast aside this body, concluding their good and evil deeds."

*Kaṇha.* 16. " Verily me, burning, being like a fire over which ghee had been poured, you sprinkled with water as it were; now I make an end of all my suffering.

17. " You who drove from me, half dead with grief, the sorrow for my son, you removed <sup>26</sup> forsooth from me the pain, the gloom that resided in my heart.

18. " Now I am relieved of my distress ; calm am I and serene. I neither mourn nor weep since I heard your words.

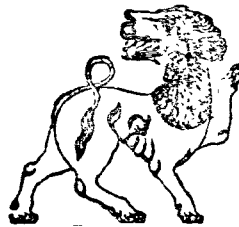
19. " So do the wise who are compassionate; they divert<sup>27</sup> us from grief, just as Ghaṭa did his eldest brother.

20. " Whoever has such companions and attendants as was Ghaṭa, who followed his brother with encouraging words, why should he have grief ? "

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26. *Abbūham*, emend to *abbūha* as in P. I, 8, 6.

27. *Vinivattayī* : read *nivattayanti* as M, C, D, and B.



## HEGEL'S PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.

### A RE-JOINDER TO MR. STACE<sup>1</sup>

By THE REV. A. M. VERSTRAETEN, S.J.

**I**F an account of Hegel's Philosophy of religion "may be found interesting" to the readers of the *Ceylon Antiquary*, I presume that a substantiated appreciation of that account may be interesting as well. For a sensible man likes to look at the shield from both sides.

Hegel's Philosophy of religion, as applied to Christianity, came to me, and probably to many another, as something very strange and producing a sentiment of inexpressible uneasiness.

That Creation, Incarnation, and Resurrection should be no "existing realities," or things that have really "happened," but only a figurative bodying of some "rational myths," or to call them with their proper German appellation: "Vorstellungen," all these sound very strange and offensive to Christian ears. Again Mr. Stace tells us, that Christianity ought not to be proved by miracles, but by thought, viz., by its conformity to the standard of truth, the Hegelian philosophy. This is, to put it mildly, even a more shocking assertion. One would at once be inclined to think that Jesus Christ, who founded His religion on the miracle of His Resurrection—let us put it in a familiar way—did not know His business. And the Apostles, who shed their blood in testimony of the Resurrection, were but big fools, who would have been a great deal wiser, if they had seen this account of Hegel's Philosophy of Religion.

I am a Christian. And in presence of what I regard as a gross misrepresentation of true Christianity, I beg to establish a scientific inquiry into Hegel's and Mr. Stace's reasons for patronising this unheard of, and uncalled for, Philosophy of Christianity. Of course Mr. Stace must have had his reasons: otherwise he would not publish his account in this "premier" Magazine of the Island, which is in the hands of so many a Christian. Truth is reached in two different ways: by another man's authority, or by personal inquiry. We will resort to both methods, lest we be accused of not doing full justice to our opponent.

What are the credentials of Hegel and of Mr. Stace, as authorities for their religious message?

Hegel is a German philosopher, who with Kant, Schlegel and Fichte, was one of the leaders of German philosophy, in the past century, and who commands even now a grand influence in British Universities. Mr. Stace seems to be an ardent admirer of German philosophy. If I remember well, his sympathy at one time went foremost to the German philosopher Nietzsche. But does this mean, that those philosophers are infallible and that we are bound to accept their religious message on their word: *ipse dixit*?

In fact, if one reads Mr. Stace's account, he may well feel that the writer's tone insinuates something like that. For without any proof, or even any attempt of proof, Mr. Stace assumes that the Hegelian philosophy is the only true philosophy, the standard of truth itself!

1. See *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. VII, Part II

But we have rather grown wont to this dogmatical tone in modern philosophy, and more specially with the Germans. This is how an eminent British writer puts it :

"One philosophy after another rises, and proclaims to be itself the voice of a teacher of God. For a time, the prophet gathers round himself a number of enthusiastic disciples, and promises great things to an unenlightened world. But soon a rival appears, and denounces his predecessor as inconsistent with himself and with truth. He promises to remedy the evil by fresh discoveries of his own. But, alas ! the promise is but ill-fulfilled, and he too is slain in his turn, by another." (Richard Clarke, *Logic*, pp. 481.)

Is it on such an authority that we should accept the German message concerning Christianity ? I think not. But to be fair, it is not on any extrinsic testimony, but rather on the intrinsic value of philosophy itself, that we are invited to give credit to Hegel's message. I will, therefore, institute a personal inquiry, and meet my honourable adversary on his own field—the field of science and philosophy

According to Mr. Stace, the aim of a philosophy of religion is two-fold : first, to ascertain the significance of the facts known about various religions ; second, to exhibit the development of religion as a rational, that means a logical, development of the world-spirit.

I am not going to find fault with what Mr. Stace supposes to be the object of a philosophy of religion : although this could have been expressed otherwise and better. I take the aims as suggested by Mr. Stace : I accept his issues : and I will discuss them *seriatim*.

As for the first issue, Mr. Stace warns his readers that the philosophy of religion is not a history of religion. There is, of course, a big difference between the two. But it is a generally admitted rule, that one science never contradicts another. Consequently, a philosophy of religion should not be in contradiction with history : in other words, theory ought to be substantiated by, and in accordance with, well known facts.

Now I take two instances, where Hegel's philosophy is manifestly contradicted by history : the Jewish and the Roman religions. I single out these two, because I am rather familiar with the Bible, which, independently of inspiration, has a first class value as an historical document ; and it has been my good fortune to have been engaged for many years in the study of the "Classics." I make bold to say that the Jewish religion is not an evolution of any pre-existing Chinese, Hindu or Zoroastrian religion, but a God-revealed religion, essentially the same as the Christian religion. The proof is simple enough. Moses delivers his message to his people, as sent by Jehovah : and the people accept it as such. And every time some heterogen element is introduced from outside, either from Egypt or Babylon, it is forthwith expelled as inconsistent with the faith they received from their fathers, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. So there is no question of evolution.

What Mr. Stace writes about the Jewish religion—"Man as having no right of existence, is the bond servant of the Lord, he is not free,"—is sheer falsehood : as it will appear from the numerous allegations of the freedom of man in the Bible : "My people turn thyself to me, and I will turn to you" or, "If you today hear the voice of the Lord, do not stiffen your hearts as did your forefathers. For forty years, I was with them, and I said : 'they always turn their hearts from me.'"

I am therefore at a loss to find any accordance between Hegel's evolutionary theory and the "well known facts" of Jewish history. In other words, history gives the lie to Hegel's theories.



It would be most easy for me to show, how the Roman religion, or the religion of utility—if such a religion ever existed in the sense of Hegel—is not an evolution of primitive and more imperfect religions. Mr. Stace says that he has reduced Hegel's forty pages on Egyptian religion to a few paragraphs. So will I reduce the whole history of Roman religion to a few lines. The Roman pantheon was a corruption of all religions, a mess of all kinds of superstitions, a deification of all passions—so much so, that a famous historian and philosopher, Bossuet, wrote: "*A Rome tout était Dieu, excepté Dieu lui-même*": At Rome all had become God, except God himself. (*Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle*.) And such a religion is proposed by Hegel as the next stepping stone to reach the absolute religion: Christianity! Those who know anything about History will remember that the first task for the Christians, when they introduced their religion into the Roman empire, was to cleanse the Augean stables from all the dirt of paganism. Well, here again, facts are in contradiction with theory. And if Hegel intends to squeeze truth from well known facts, just as one squeezes juice from a lemon, he would do well first to ascertain those facts: if not, there will be very little truth to squeeze from Hegel's philosophy. In other words, from these two examples, it appears that Hegel's first aim was a failure.

I go over to the *second* object of Hegel's philosophy of religion, viz., to exhibit the development of religion as a rational, that is, a logical, development of the world spirit, and incidentally to show that Christianity is the absolute religion.

This second object is more abstract. And Mr. Stace, if anything, is an abstract-minded philosopher, who delights in metaphysical contemplations. Therefore, we may well say, that in this second part, Mr. Stace is at his *forte*. I will try, however, to test his assertions to the philosophy of common sense.

An elementary principle of logic is that a conclusion can never be more certain than its premisses. Now, Hegel, or his spokesman, assumes a proposition which is neither self-evident, nor proven by facts, viz., that there exists really something like "a rational development of the world-spirit."

I am well aware of the theory of evolution in living and not living beings. I know even something of the recent extension of this evolutionary theory to the intellectual, ethical and religious progress of the universe. But even granting there is some truth in the evolution theory—as there usually happens to be in all errors and heresies—I for one do not see that the movement of the world's thought and religion must be always in the direction of progress. As a matter of fact, it is more often a recess, than a progress, if we consider the various civilisations that have succeeded each other, on the face of the earth. Nay, I am going to astonish my honourable opponent by calling in the testimony of two of the most distinguished anthropologists of modern times:

"Andrew Lang and Græber by totally different methods have come to a strikingly identical conclusion: the natural man has shaped his physical surroundings along Darwin's evolutionist theories, but morally and *religiously* he is a *degenerate*. (*Methods of Anthropology* by A. Gille.)

Yet there is something even more vicious in Hegel's premisses, or foundations of religious philosophy, and that is what Mr. Stace calls the essential rationality of Christianity as a religion. "Christianity is the absolute religion *because* it has for its contents the absolute truth. Its content is identical with the Hegelian philosophy. Hegelianism is esoteric Christianity." Here we reach the crucial point of our difference

Hegel does not admit any truth but what he can understand or demonstrate. Reason is the organon of Christianity as of every religion. Consequently he denies the existence of mysteries, prophecies and miracles : in one word, of the whole supernatural order. I have already once met Mr. Stace on a similar point (*Ceylon Antiquary*, Oct., 1918.)

I said there and then, and I cannot say it better now :

" Christ has revealed more than one truth, which is above reason ; for instance, to begin with, that he is a God-man. And Jesus Christ imposed his ' creed ' upon all His disciples, not on the ground that their reason was able to understand it, but on the authority of His divine mission, which he was ready to prove by His deeds (miracles). So important is this consideration that Christianity, without ' creed ' or ' belief ' but simply with reason, would no longer be Christianity."

Let us now sum up the whole structure of argument, on which Hegel founds the logical development of the world-spirit, so as to end in the absolute religion which is Christianity ! I will put it in the form of a syllogism, although Mr. Stace " dislikes that logic-chopping method of controversy." I really wonder at that, the more so as Mr. Stace was a Professor of Logic. And is not syllogism the normal way of testing the correctness of mental reasoning, just as the four elementary rules are the proper way to check our mathematical calculations ? Here it is :

- M. The religion which is most like unto Hegel's philosophy is the absolute religion
- m. But Christianity, well understood, is most like unto Hegel's philosophy.
- C. Therefore Christianity, among, all other religions, is the absolute religion.

Now the *major* as we have seen is most questionable. For to say that Hegel's philosophy is the only standard of truth is not self-evident. It is even denied by the best philosophers.

The *minor* is totally false. For Christianity, as exhibited by Hegel and his interpreter Mr. Stace, is not Christianity, no more, even less, than margarine is genuine butter : for margarine at least has an appearance of butter, but Hegel's exhibit has not even a resemblance of Christianity.

What then remains of the whole structure of Hegel's philosophy as applied to Christianity ? Absolutely nothing : it falls through as an imaginary vision, as a day dream !

I sincerely regret to have to dissent again from Mr. Stace's views. He seemed to be a sociable and well intentioned man, and, no doubt, he is very complimentary to the Christian religion, since he places it far above all other religions.

But as a philosopher of old said : "*Amicus Plato, sed magis amica veritas.*" I cannot accept the compliment of Mr. Stace, because it lacks truth. It offends my reason. And now look at what may appear strange to those who often accuse Catholics of being blind believers : I would not admit Christianity, not even for a moment, if I had no better arguments than Hegel's philosophy !

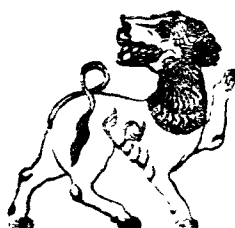
How then is it that an intelligent man can go so far astray from what millions of Christians have unanimously admitted as true for twenty centuries ? I surmise it is German philosophy, or the *a priori* philosophy. If once one starts from a false principle, he does not know where he will end. Mr. Stace starts from an abstract idea, which he calls the *spirit*. From this idea he derives universality, particularity and again individuality, and again God, the world and the religion. Why ? He does not say, probably he does not know. It is thereon that he establishes his philosophy of religion !

Mine is a quite opposite process, that of common sense. Let every one see, and hear things, that exist or happen. From these I derive logical deductions. Because logic is nothing else but common sense codified. Those deductions are called science and philosophy. They were called thus ever since Aristotle, and they are taught still now in the best universities. They are understood by every one.

I have myself addressed, on abstract subjects, both the ignorant and the learned : and I dare say, that I was understood equally by both, because I used the words in their natural sense : I spoke as other people speak. Could any such thing be said of Hegel's philosophy ? Could you use the Hegelian vocabulary : " esoteric, pictorial thought." " *Vorstellung*," in any court of justice ?

" If we must give some explicit reason," says a competent philosopher, " why we reject the metaphysics of Hegel, we may put in the plea of the impenetrability to his ideas ; his doctrines pass by as the idle wind, which we regard not. We completely reject a Reason, which contradicts the plain understanding, and which, under pretence of supremacy over it, tries to impose upon us much unmeaning phraseology." (John Rickaby, *General Metaphysics*, p. 9.)

In conclusion, I do not reproach Mr. Stace for his effort to prove the absolute superiority and the entire rationality of the Christian religion. But I say, he utterly failed to convince me. And to me, as to other Christians, he will have left this final impression : What Mr. Stace exhibits as the existing Christianity is but an *imaginary Hegelianity*.



## SINHALESE PLANT NAMES.

By T. PETCH.

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THE botanical identification of the plants indicated by vernacular names has been attempted by nearly all European botanists who have resided for any considerable time in Ceylon, but, although they have succeeded in determining many of the common species, the difficulties and uncertainties encountered have prevented the accomplishment of anything approaching completeness. The subject, however, is one, not only of scientific interest, but also, in some instances, of economic importance, and it is highly desirable that it should be investigated further, and as complete a list as possible compiled. A list of the recorded Sinhalese names, with their botanical identifications where known, was begun some years ago, but, as may have happened to my predecessors, the work has been crowded out by more urgent problems. Mr. J. M. Senaveratna's paper on "Some Ancient Plants and Trees of Ceylon" in this Journal has induced me to write a brief account of how our present knowledge has been obtained, and what is necessary in order to extend it on a sure basis.

It must be premised that vernacular names are, in general, indefinite, that is, it is not a case of one plant one name, or one name one plant. That has been found to be true in all countries in which the present race of inhabitants has co-existed with the flora during historical time. Common plants of economic value, and those in general use medicinally, may have a definite name, but for the remainder the common name of the same plant varies from district to district, and the same common name is used to denote widely different plants in different districts. In England, a recent writer has recorded eighty common names for the orchid, *Orchis mascula*, and conversely, the name "Cuckoo flower" is applied to nearly as many different plants in different localities. It is scarcely to be expected that Ceylon will differ from other countries in this respect, and there is some evidence that names used in the Kandy district differ from those used in the Colombo district for the same plant, and these again from those used in the Galle district.

Similarly, the same name will be used in different districts for closely allied plants, especially if these are employed medicinally for the same purpose. There is an extensive substitution of this character in Ceylon, due possibly to the fact that the indigenous medicines are frequently based upon the fresh plant. Under such circumstances, if the plant does not grow in a given district, another plant is substituted, though it may not have the same properties. This applies with still greater force to prescriptions adopted from Indian practice.

The recorder of vernacular names must be prepared to meet numerous cases of transference, either for the reason suggested above, or from the need of a name for a newly-introduced plant. The latter cases are frequently very interesting, though often difficult of explanation.

*Lantana aculeata* Linn., the common weed, was introduced into Ceylon about 1824. It has been named "*Raṭa-hinguru*" and "*Gandapāna*." But the latter name belongs to *Mappia ovata*, and *Lantana* certainly does not deserve it

The common Goat weed, or White weed, *Ageratum conyzoides* L., is not indigenous to Ceylon, but is an American plant which has now spread round the Tropics. It was not collected in Ceylon by Hermann (1672-79) or Thunberg (1777-78). Moon recorded it with a query as growing at Colombo, probably in the Botanic Garden there, but he did not give a Sinhalese name. It is now universally known as "*Hulan-talá*." Most of the remaining species of "*Tala*," however, "*Hin-tala*," "*Maduru-tala*," "*Gas-tala*," "*Suwandu-tala*," are plants closely allied to one another, which all belong to the same genus of the natural order *Labiatae*. "*Hulan-talá*" has no resemblance to these, and it is difficult to imagine what prompted the application of that name to *Ageratum conyzoides*. It is probably a case of transference, but there is no record of what "*Hulan-talá*" was before the introduction of *Ageratum*. Moon did not meet with the name.

Cases such as the foregoing completely negative Moon's supposition that a Sinhalese Botany could be established from a consideration of the Sinhalese names of plants. He collected all the names he could, and arranged these in groups according to the same root word in the combination, imagining that by this means he had classified the plants into groups corresponding to the genera of systematic botany. Thus, he collected the name "*Diya-kehel*," and included it in his lists as a species of plantain. In some instances, allied plants are brought together by this system; the Sinhalese nomenclature appears to be based to a great extent on general superficial resemblances, and these do sometimes coincide with real botanical relationships. But the general futility of the method will be perceived when it is realised that an English botanist, working on the same principles, would institute a genus "*Rose*," with the species Dog Rose, Tuberose, Rock Rose, Gelder Rose, Primrose, Christmas Rose, Rosemary, etc.

Another American weed, *Mikania scandens* Willd., now spreading rapidly over the country, is a more recent introduction which was first recorded by Trimen in 1888. During the last fifteen years, it has invaded the villager's garden and so forced itself upon his attention. Consequently it is now in process of being named, and in the Rambukkana district it is known as "*Hulan-taliya*," "*Pulun-taliya*," "*Loku-padu*," "*Gam-padu*," while along the lower reaches of the Mahaweliganga, where it hangs in sheets from the tops of the jungle trees, it has received the Tamil name "*Mokattu*," Veil creeper. What, by the way, is the meaning of the word "*taliya*" in this case? Sinhalese scholars assure me that there is no such word. We have "*Diya-taleya*" for *Mastixia arborea* var. *Thwaitesii* Clarke, which does not resemble *Mikania scandens*.

*Erigeron sumatrana* Retz is another recent introduction, the first Ceylon specimen having been collected in 1898. It does not appear to have received a Sinhalese name yet, but the Tamil cooly has named it "*Alavanga Pillu*," evidently in allusion to its erect unbranched stem.

The introduction of the Water Hyacinth (*Eichhornia crassipes* Solms) has occasioned a number of interesting points in nomenclature. In general, the tendency has been to apply old names to this new arrival, a fact which suggests that plant names are not very strictly applied by the villager, or that he keeps a number of loose names in reserve, as it were. It is scarcely possible to confuse the Water Hyacinth with any indigenous Ceylon plant.

A new name for the Water Hyacinth was furnished in the Tangalla district in 1914, where it was known as "*Japan Yabara*," apparently under the belief that it came from Japan. That was not very wide of the mark, the plant having been introduced from Hongkong. As

to "Yabara," I have been told that there is no such word, but it would appear probable that it is the same as "Yapura," recorded by Clough (p. 379) as a medicinal plant not identified. Hermann (*Mus. Zeyl.*, p. 24) recorded "Sabara" for a plant which Linnaeus identified as *Monochoria hastaeifolia* Presl. ("Diya-habarala"); and "Yapara" appears in a list of Ceylon medicinal seeds sent to Leyden in 1785. It may be suggested that "Yabara," "Yapura," "Sabara," are all variants of the "Habara" in "Diya-habarala," and in that case the application of "Yabara" to another aquatic plant is intelligible.

In the Kadugannawa district in 1916, the Water Hyacinth was known as "Diya kehel," the water plantain. This is an old name which was recorded by Moon. He included it among the varieties of the plantain, but there is not much doubt that he had not seen a specimen and was merely guessing. This name does not appear to be in use now, and what it was is uncertain, but the most suitable application would be to *Jussiaea repens* L. ("Beru-diyaniila,") the spongy floats of which may resemble peeled plantains. Its application to the Water Hyacinth may have been suggested by the inflated leaf bases of the latter plant.

Another old name, "Diya-mánel," was furnished for the Water Hyacinth in the Eadella district in 1917. This name was recorded by Thwaites, who met with it in the Kegalla district. But the plant collected by Thwaites was *Hymenocallis tenuiflora* Herb. an introduced garden species. Thus on both the occasions on which this name has been met with, it has been applied to a foreign species. This may be a case of transference, but no Sinhalese plant is known under that name. The reason for the name is fairly obvious. "Mánel" is the Waterlily, *Nymphaea stellata* Willd. "Gođa-mánel" is *Crinum asiaticum* L., the lily which grows on land. "Diya-mánel" is consequently a natural name for a water plant, though the "Diya" in this case would seem to be tautological.

In the Kandy district, the Water Hyacinth was regarded as an indigenous medicinal plant and the old name "Diya-beraliya" was revived for it. This name "Diya-beraliya" was not met with by Thwaites or Trimen, but it was recorded by Hermann. Hermann's specimens, however, were *Monochoria hastaeifolia* Presl., i.e. "Diya-habarala." The name does not appear to have a definite application; specimens sent in recently from the Galle district as "Diya-beraliya" were a species of *Commelina*.

The example last cited again illustrates the contention that an arrangement of Sinhalese plant names according to some common root does not result in a scientific classification. "Beraliya" is *Doona cordifolia* Thw., and has been applied to *Doona oblonga* Thw.; "Pini-beraliya" is *Doona ovalifolia* Thw.; "Kotikan-beraliya" is *Doona nervosa* Thw.; "Honda-beraliya" is *Doona macrophylla* Thw.; and "Rat-beraliya" is *Hopea jucunda* Thw. All these species of "Beraliya" are Dipterocarps, large trees with winged fruits. Yet with the same root name we have "Diya-beraliya," applied to a small aquatic plant. Is there any explanation of this apparent anomaly?

Confusion or transference of vernacular names is not merely a recent development. A long-standing example is afforded by the name "Wissaduli." Hermann collected this name (1672-79), but was given it for three different plants. One of these was *Knoxia zeylanica* L., and this is the specimen named "Wissaduli" in Hermann's herbarium. A second specimen under the same name was lost, but from Hermann's notes it was probably an orchid. The third was published by Hermann in *Far. Bat. Prod.* 300, and this plant is now known as *Wissadula zeylanica* Medik., though its proper Sinhalese name is "Kiri-kaju." Thunberg (1777-78) also collected a plant under the Sinhalese name "Wissaduli," and his species was again

an orchid. Later, Moon met with the same name, again for an orchid, probably *Cymbidium bicolor* Lindl. But Trimen (1880-96) recorded that he had not been able to ascertain that the name "*Wissaduli*" was applied to any plant except *Centipeda orbicularis* Lour., which was known as "*Wissaduli*" by the Vedaralas of the Central Province. Thus, we have at least four plants for which the name "*Wissaduli*" has been supplied during the last 250 years. Up to 1824, the balance of evidence was in favour of the supposition that the name referred to an orchid, but the more recent evidence indicates that it refers to a plant belonging to the order *Compositae*.

Names which are in general use at one period in a given district may die out in that district though they are perpetuated elsewhere. An example of this is afforded by the name "*Wada*" for the Shoe-flower (*Hibiscus rosa-sinensis* L.); this name was recorded, with its botanical identification, by Hermann in 1679, no doubt in the Colombo district, but it was not met with by Moon, Thwaites, or Trimen, and was unknown to a gentleman who had been connected with Ceylon horticulture for some thirty years until he encountered it at Matara. Another example is "*Wata sudu*" for the common garden plant, *Tabernaemontana Coronaria*; this was recorded by Moon, again probably from Colombo, but it had not been heard by any botanist since, until it was recently recorded for the same plant from Galle. It would almost appear that some of the old names are being driven out of the Colombo district by the advancing flood of Westernism.

Vernacular names may also be lost when a herb ceases to be collected for medicinal use. This, however, is probably less likely to have happened in Ceylon than in countries where the patent medicine has displaced the old-fashioned home remedies.

It has to be borne in mind that a list of vernacular names of plants cannot fully represent the flora of a country, because in the first place, the peasant usually fails to differentiate closely allied plants, and, secondly, rare plants and inconspicuous plants of no economic value are, in general, not named. It is true that a handbook of the British Flora will give English names for nearly all the species enumerated, but very many of these are "book names," i.e. names invented by writers of books, and are quite unknown to the inhabitants of the countryside. The average countryman recognises comparatively few species.

An additional difficulty in Ceylon is the multiplicity of languages. We have Sinhalese and colloquial Sinhalese names and Tamil and colloquial Tamil names, as well as Tamil names adapted from Sinhalese, and Sinhalese names adapted from Tamil. Then there are the classical names in Pali and the medicinal names in Sanskrit. At the other extreme are the cooly Tamil names which may vary with the estate. And to complete the confusion, a few Portuguese names are thrown in.

The first botanist to identify Ceylon plants with their vernacular names was Paul Hermann, who lived in Ceylon as chief medical officer in the Dutch East India Company's service from about 1672 to 1679. Hermann did not identify Ceylon plants in the modern sense, for the simple reason that they had not then been described and named; but when he preserved his specimens, he wrote the vernacular name and other details on the herbarium sheets, and thus provided the material required to associate the botanical names, which were subsequently given to the plants by Linnaeus and others, with their local designations.

Some surprise has been expressed that the scientific (generic) names of Ceylon plants are in many cases identical, or nearly so, with the Sinhalese name; or that the scientific name and the Sinhalese name have the same meaning. That, however, is merely due to Hermann's

notes. When Linnaeus was applying his binominal system to the known plants of the world, he was no doubt glad of any hint of a suitable name. Consequently, when during his christening of Ceylon plants he came across a Sinhalese name which appeared to him euphonious in a Latin guise, he adopted it as a generic name. Burmann, in his *Thesaurus Zeylanicus*, had previously followed the same plan. Hence we have the "Latin" generic names "*Mussaenda*," "*Pavetta*" ("Pawate,"), "*Pothos*" ("Potha,"), "*Wissadula*," "*Acmella*," etc.; though "*Pavetta*" was most probably adopted from the form recorded by Rheede in the *Hortus Malabaricus*.

In some cases both the generic and the specific name were based on Hermann's notes. For example, he collected three specimens of Pinna, one of which he described as "*Pinnakola*, i. e. infelix, infortunata," another as "*Pinna*. Planta fortunata" and the third as "*Pinna kola*, Planta infelix." The reason for these names is not known: all the specimens are the same species. Burmann, no doubt in view of the uncertainty whether the plant was "felix" or "infelix," invented for it the generic name *Clerodendron* from the Greek *cleros*, a chance in a lottery, and subsequently Linnaeus selected "infortunatum" as the specific name. Consequently the plant is now known as *Clerodendron infortunatum* L.

Hermann usually gave a translation, or what he believed was a translation, of the Sinhalese name, and this in many cases provided Linnaeus with inspiration. To "*Múnamal*," Hermann added "Arbor zeylanica floribus odoratis humana facie. *Muna* faciem humanam notat, flores enim aliquo modo referent faciem humanam." Hence Linnaeus named the tree *Mimusops*.

Many more examples might be cited, but one must suffice. Hermann recorded "*Bothija*, *Mahabothija*. Cistus Indicus quinquenervius. capitulis sericeis pulpa nigra refertis major. *Bocca preto* Lusit. h.e. os nigrum, quia pueri comedendo hanc pulpam os denigrant." The plant was "*Bowitiya*." Burmann could not make a decent name out of "Bothija" or "os nigrum," so he coined the generic name *Melastoma*. This example serves to explain how it is that in some cases the Sinhalese name, the Portuguese name, and the scientific name of a Ceylon plant all have the same meaning. The two latter are merely translations of the first.

Grimm, who was in Ceylon at the same time as Hermann, recorded Sinhalese names in his *Laboratorium Ceylonicum*, but as he did not preserve any plants, we can only tell what he meant from Hermann's work. Grimm, however, comes in for special notice, as the innocent originator of a curious specific name. He had described a plant under the name *Arbor Bolanga*. This was the Portuguese name *Bolangos*, which Hermann had correctly referred to the Sinhalese "*Diwul*," *Feronia elephantum*. Burmann, who subsequently wrote an account of Ceylon plants under the title *Thesaurus Zeylanicus*, incorrectly associated Grimm's *Arbor Bolanga* with a *Sterculia*, the Sinhalese "*Nawa*," and, knowing that the Sinhalese term for a tree was "*gas*" (or as Hermann wrote it "*ghas*"), he altered the spelling to "*Balanghas*." Hence Linnaeus named the Ceylon "*Nawa*," *Sterculia Balanghas*. Trimen noted that he had never met with the Sinhalese name "*Balanghas*." No wonder, for the name "*Balanghas*" is only imitation Sinhalese.

About 100 years after Hermann's departure, C. P. Thunberg, a Swedish botanist, visited Ceylon (July 29, 1777—Feb. 6, 1778) on his way home from Japan and Java. Governor Falck appointed to attend him on his botanical excursions in Ceylon, "one of the most skilful physicians of the country who communicated to me always both the Ceylonese and Malabar names of each plant, as well as the manner in which it was used in different diseases"



(Thunberg, *Travels*). A few of these names and uses are recorded in his *Travels*. Others were written on his herbarium sheets, and these have been made available by the publication of a list of his herbarium under the title *Plantae Thunbergianae* by Prof. H. O. Juel (Upsala, 1918).

It is, perhaps, fortunate that Thunberg did not publish all his notes. He had visited Japan, Java, Ceylon, and the Cape on his tour, and his collections had become somewhat mixed. Hence plants from Java or the Cape were attributed to Ceylon, and names said to be Sinhalese may be really Japanese, or Malay, or African. In the account of the plants of Ceylon in his *Travels*, he employs the name "*Jarrak*" for the common hedge plant, *Jatropha Curcas*, the Sinhalese "*Raṭa-endaru*"; that name is the one employed in Java.

Ainslie included in his *Materia Medica of Hindoostan* (1813) Sinhalese names which were furnished by Edward Tolfrey, of the Ceylon Civil Service, who died at Kandy, Aug. 9th, 1821, when Judicial Commissioner for the Kandyan Provinces. In his second edition, many of the Sinhalese names are quoted from Moon.

In 1824, Moon published his list of names of Ceylon plants. It is worth noting that he did not give it the title by which it is so frequently cited, a Catalogue of Ceylon Plants, but a *Catalogue of the Indigenous and Exotic Plants grown in Ceylon*, that is, it included the names of both native and introduced plants. It consists of two parts, the first of which includes the scientific names of the plants with their Sinhalese equivalents, and the second, the Sinhalese names only.

In the first part, about 1585 species are enumerated, but of these about 450 are introduced or cultivated plants, and another 250 are errors or synonyms (duplicate names). Some of the cultivated plants have, of course, Sinhalese names, but a large number certainly never grew outside the Botanic Gardens.

In the second part, Moon enumerated about 3,360 Sinhalese names. His index of these names is a triple one, which gives in parallel columns the references to the two sections of the book; and a casual glance at this index will show that for many of the Sinhalese names there is no corresponding identification in the list of scientific names. In fact, the total number of identifications is about 1650; that is, only about one half of the Sinhalese names recorded by Moon were identified with any plant, and many of these had been previously recorded.

There is ample evidence, if more were needed, that for the second section of his book Moon merely collected names, not plants. Had he collected and preserved plants and noted their Sinhalese names on the herbarium sheets, as Hermann did, it would have been possible for some botanist to have worked out his collection and identified the plant with its vernacular name. But as he did not take the trouble to preserve specimens of all the plants he enumerated in the first part of his Catalogue, it was scarcely to be expected that he would do so for the second part. Thus, the interest of the second part of Moon's *Catalogue* is chiefly philological, not botanical.

Clough's *Sinhalese-English Dictionary* appeared in 1830. In the preface (p. XI) we read

"The botanical department considerably exceeds the limits assigned to it in my original plan. Ceylon it must be allowed is peculiarly distinguished by the rich varieties of its vegetable kingdom, and the natives have evinced greater industry in the cultivation of this branch of knowledge, upon principles of their own, than in any other department of natural

philosophy : one object of attraction, the medicinal properties of their plants, has no doubt been the stimulus to exertion, and has had the effect of making almost every native in some degree acquainted with the botanical theories of his own country. Besides which, native authors, in every species of composition, have given force and beauty to their writings by a constant allusion to the charms of this delightful science : historians, mythologists, naturalists, and poets, have each laid the vegetable world under contribution for some of their most impressive and instructive figures. In studying, therefore, these authors it will be found highly advantageous to have at hand a key at least to the botanical classification of trees and plants, and in this Dictionary I have endeavoured to furnish one, both to the names found in the classical writings, and to those that are used in familiar conversation, the most perfect that our present knowledge would supply."

In the preface to the second edition of Clough's *Sinhalese-English Dictionary* (1892) it is stated :

" Botanical terms were a leading feature of the original edition, as might be expected in a dictionary of the language of a people residing in a country enriched with such a profuse and diversified vegetation as that of Ceylon. This edition has the advantage of appearing subsequently to the publication of the *Systematic Catalogue of the Flowering Plants and Ferns indigenous to or growing wild in Ceylon, with the vernacular names and references to Thwaites's Enumeratio* compiled by Henry Trimen M.B., F.L.S., Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Ceylon. In the present work all the plants the vernacular names of which are sanctioned by Dr. Trimen's authority are distinguished by the insertion of the Natural Orders to which they belong. Besides these an immense number of other names appeared in the first edition, for which the botanical names were taken, it is believed, from Moon's *Catalogue*. Many of such names are found only in the medical and other books and are not in common use by the people in general. No pains have (?) spared to identify these ; in many instances the species and genera have been corrected according to Dr. Trimen's *Catalogue*, and wherever possible the colloquial names have been added."

When the second edition was in course of preparation, it was suggested that Trimen should correct the botanical information. That he agreed to do, but for some reason the work was not submitted to him. It would not appear probable that the botanical interpretations in the first edition were derived wholly from Moon's *Catalogue*. As already stated, Moon collected names, and identified comparatively few of them, but there are identifications in Moon's *Catalogue* which are not included in the Dictionary. Who furnished Clough with his botanical names is a puzzle ; many of them are decidedly archaic, and others are not those of Ceylon plants. The Dictionary is not a safe guide except in the cases in which the botanical identification was adopted from Trimen.

We owe the majority of the botanical identifications of Sinhalese plant names to Thwaites and Trimen. In their day, the investigation of the flora of the country was one of the primary duties of the Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens, and consequently they made extended tours throughout the Island, collecting plants and ascertaining their vernacular names where possible, being assisted by the plant collectors and draughtsmen attached to the Department. But in addition to that, both Thwaites and Trimen had the exceptional advantage of the co-operation of keen botanists or naturalists stationed in various parts of the Island. In those days, interest in natural science was more general among educated people than it is in these more strenuous times. Among their correspondents were W. Ferguson, S. O.

Glenie, P. A. Dyke, A. O. Brodie, T. W. N. Beckett, H. Nevill, J. P. Lewis, M. S. Crawford, etc., all of whom supplied botanical specimens and information from the various districts in which they were stationed. By that means, Thwaites and Trimen obtained information concerning vernacular names from people who were intimately acquainted with the district in which the plant grew.

Since the publication of Trimen's *Handbook of the Flora of Ceylon*, botanical exploration has been somewhat in abeyance owing to the diversion of the attentions of official botanists to more definitely economic questions. Willis's *Revised Catalogue of the Flowering Plants and Ferns of Ceylon* is, in consequence, practically a repetition of Trimen, as regards vernacular names.

To anyone who is acquainted with Attygalle's communications to the old *Ceylon Medical Journal*, in which he showed considerable independence of opinion, his *Sinhalese Materia Medica* must be a disappointment, as it is chiefly a compilation from Indian sources. Its botany is faulty, and the vernacular names are, in the main, derived from Trimen. This has led to unexpected errors. The fourth and fifth volumes of Trimen's *Flora* were completed, partly from his manuscript, in England after his death. English botanists were, naturally, unacquainted with Sinhalese names, and in copying Trimen's notes many mistakes were made. One of the most glaring of these is in the Sinhalese name for *Kaempferia Galanga* L., which should be "*Hinguru-piyali*," but which was printed as "*Hingum-pujali*." Attygalle has "*Hingum-pujali*" for this plant.

To those who wish to take up the work of extending our knowledge of vernacular names, the following observations may be useful. The plant whose vernacular name has been ascertained should be collected, with flower and fruit if possible, and dried and mounted in the usual way. The vernacular name and the locality should be written on the herbarium sheet. The scientific name can be obtained at any time; the essential data are the plant, the locality, and the vernacular name. The name without the specimen is useless. Names which are given voluntarily are more likely to be correct than those obtained by cross questioning.

The interpretation of the vernacular names of plants met with in ancient writings must always be attended with uncertainty unless the context provides some definite clue. It presupposes that the name has survived to the present day in the district to which the chronicle refers, and that it is now applied to the same plant as it was formerly.

The following comments on Mr. Senaveratna's paper are made chiefly from a botanical point of view.

#### Hiya-vel.

This name has apparently not been recorded by any botanist. But it would appear that the main point to be settled here is where the learned author of the Sinhalese translation found this Sinhalese name.

#### Piya (Asana).

*Terminalia tomentosa* W. & A. is an Indian tree which does not occur in Ceylon.

*Terminalia alata* was a name given by Moon. This is one of the numerous instances which completely nullify all attempts to establish for Moon the reputation of a botanist. He gave new names for plants in his *Catalogue*, but he was apparently unaware that it was necessary to give descriptions of the plants, or to preserve specimens, in order that others might recognise what plants he meant. Hence most of Moon's names are what are known as *nomina nuda*, and they do not count. In the present instance, he gave the Sinhalese name "*Kumbuk*"

for his *Terminalia alata*, and hence it is assumed that he meant the tree which is now known as *Terminalia glabra* W. & A., but that supposes that his informant applied the Sinhalese name correctly.

*Buchanania latifolia* Roxb. is an Indian tree which does not grow in Ceylon. The corresponding Ceylon species is *Buchanania angustifolia* Roxb. ; this is a rare tree, and no Sinhalese name has been recorded.

The name "*Piya*" has not been recorded by any botanist. Moon, however, gave the name "*Piya-gaha*," with the translation "Father's tree," and a species, "*Nil-piya-gaha*," without any identification. The word "father" may have been meant in the religious sense, in which case it would correspond to "dear to hermits." Mr. F. Lewis could, I believe, furnish information as to what tree was most often planted near "Hermit's" retreats.

The Tamil "*Maruta*" is *Terminalia glabra* W. & A., the Sinhalese "*Kumbuk*." *Terminalia tomentosa* W. & A., given by Attygalle (p. 74), is, as already stated, not a Ceylon tree.

#### Dul (As-vel).

May not the plant intended have been "*Muruwa-dul*," *Marsdenia tenacissima* Moon ? This grows in the dry and intermediate country, and it would seem capable of affording a better material for lamp wicks than *Anodendron paniculatum* A. DC., which, moreover, is a wet-zone species.

#### Imburu.

This name has not been recorded by any botanist. Here, again, the question would appear to be whence the translator obtained the name.

#### Desaman.

The Jasmines, native or introduced, in Ceylon have always been obtained by botanists as "*Pichcha*," with or without a prefix. Herman recorded the name "*Idda*," his plant being *Tabernaemontana Coronaria* Br. ("*Wata-sudu*") ; and "*Wal-idda*" or "*Sudu-idda*" is *Wrightia zeylanica* Br.

#### Hinguru-vel, Kadamba.

"*Hinguru*" is recorded in Willis's *Catalogue* for *Acacia caesia* Willd. This name was obtained by Hermann for the same plant, and it was also recorded by Trimen. *Acacia caesia* is a climber, but I do not see that the context necessarily indicates a climbing plant. Why not a shrub ? Somadevi would have had a very rough time in a thicket of *Acacia caesia*.

With regard to the other names referred to, *Nauclea Cadamba* Roxb. is an old name for *Anthocephalus Cadamba* Miq., and *Nauclea coadunata* Roxb. is another name for *Sarcocephalus cordatus* Miq.

*Nauclea zeylanica* H. f. is a rare tree in the wet low-country, and may consequently be dismissed.

*Sarcocephalus cordatus* Miq., a small tree, rather common in the low-country, both in the wet and the dry zones, is the Sinhalese "*Bakmi*".

*Anthocephalus Cadamba* Miq., a large tree, found in the low-country in both zones, is the Sinhalese "*Embul bakmi*".

*Adina cordifolia* H. f., a very large tree, rather common in the dry zone, is the Sinhalese "*Kolon*".

On the available evidence "*Hinguru-vel*" is quite distinct from "*Kadamba*". As far as regards medicinal uses, "*Kadamba*" appears to be *Anthocephalus Cadamba* Miq.

**Kumbuk.**

"Kumbuk" is *Terminalia glabra* W.&A. *Terminalia Arjuna* is another name given to the same tree in South India by Beddome, and, as stated by Trimen, it appears to be a quite unnecessary synonym.

**Tanasal.**

"Tanasal" is *Setaria italica* Beauv. *Setaria intermedia* Roem. and Sch. is a different species, a fairly common but inconspicuous grass, which is not cultivated or used for food, and probably has no vernacular name in consequence. *Panicum italicum* is an older name for *Setaria italica*.

By the way, non-botanists would make fewer mistakes if they discarded the word variety in favour of species, when writing on botanical matters.

**Divul.**

The Tamil name, "Mayaladikkuruntu", was recorded for *Feronia elephantum* Corr. by Trimen. Willis obtained the same name for *Cadaba trifoliata* W. and A. at Arippe and recorded it in his *Catalogue*.

**Múdu-keyiya.**

Moon recorded "Weta-keyiya" for *Pandanus odoratissimus* L. f., and "Múdu-keyiya" for *Pandanus fascicularis* Lam., which is another name for the same plant. Trimen gave "Múdu-keyiya" for *Pandanus odoratissimus*, and stated that, when used for fences, the species of *Pandanus* are called "Wetta-keyiya".

**Komadu.**

The separation of the different species of Cucurbits cultivated in Ceylon is not an easy matter, even for a botanist, and our records indicate that the vernacular names are often interchanged. But it is fairly certain that none of the old names can refer to *Cucurbita Pepo* L., the vegetable marrow, which is an American species of comparatively late introduction.

The only botanical record of "Puhul" is in "Alu-puhul", the Ash Pumpkin, *Benincasa cerifera* Savi. Dutt gives "Kushmanda" for the Ash Pumpkin.

**Labu.**

It would seem that this might more fittingly refer to "Rata-labu", *Cucurbita moschata* Duch.

**Mi.**

"Mi" is *Bassia longifolia* L., but the "Mahwa" tree of India is *Bassia latifolia* Roxb.

**Imbul.**

It was until recently believed that *Tamarix indica* Willd. was identical with *Tamarix gallica* L. Hence in Trimen's *Flora* and Willis's *Catalogue*, the Ceylon plant appears as *Tamarix gallica*. Further investigations have shown that the two plants are distinct, and the Ceylon species will have to be known as *Tamarix indica*.

Trimen, in the *Flora of Ceylon*, gave "Kiri" as the Tamil name for *Tamarix indica*, and subsequently added in Mss., "Umbiri" S., "Tini" T. Willis and Smith, in *Additions to Trimen's Flora*, gave "Umbiri" S., "Kiri, Tini", T.

As *Tamarix indica* is usually a shrub and grows on the sea coast, it is scarcely probable that the name "Picula" refers to it. In Ceylon it is rare, and found only on the coast of the dry zone.

Of the other botanical names mentioned ; *Dalbergia Sissoo* Roxb. is not a Ceylon species, *Alocasia indica* Schott is not known in Ceylon, and *Basella lucida* L. is only another name for *Basella rubra* L., the Ceylon Spinach. *Ficus oppositifolia* Willd. is another name for *Ficus hispida* L. f., the Sinhalese "*Kota-dimbula*".

#### Hal.

The Indian "*Sal*" is *Shorea robusta* Roxb. This does not grow in Ceylon. "*Hal*" is *Vateria acuminata* Hayne. Piney tallow is obtained from a different tree, *Vateria indica* L.

#### Mara.

*Acacia Sirissa* Ham. is another name for *Albizzia Lebbek* Benth.

#### Udumbara.

"*Aṭṭikka*" is *Ficus glomerata* Willd., but "*Kota-dimbula*" is *Ficus hispida* L. f.

#### Diya-beraliya.

*Monochoria hastaeifolia* Presl. is "*Diya-habarala*," but it is not flax, and its blue is not exactly that of flax. As already noted, "*Diya-beraliya*" appears to be applied somewhat indefinitely.

#### Nelun.

Here we meet the curious fact that although the Lotus is a sacred flower, it is impossible to distinguish between the references to it and those to the Water-lily in ancient and modern writings. In Ceylon, as Mr. Senaveratna states, we have

<i>Nelumbium speciosum</i> Willd.	S. " <i>Nelun</i> ", E. Lotus.
<i>Nymphaea Lotus</i> L.	S. " <i>Olu</i> ", " <i>Et-olu</i> "; E. Water-lily.
<i>Nymphaea stellata</i> Willd.	S. " <i>Mânel</i> "; E. Water-lily.

*Nymphaea stellata* is the blue Water-lily. *Nymphaea Lotus* is the white or red Water-lily.

The passage from Dutt's *Hindu Materia Medica*, quoted by Mr. Senaveratna, illustrates the confusion between these species. Dutt refers to three varieties of *Nelumbium speciosum*, the Lotus, viz., a white, a red, and a blue variety. But *Nelumbium speciosum* has either white or red flowers ; it is *Nymphaea stellata* which has blue flowers.

Again, "The Hindus liken the world at the creation to a lotus floating on water." But the lotus flower does not float on the water ; it is the water-lily which floats.

As far as I have seen, the flowers sold at Anuradhapura for temple offerings are the water-lily, "*Olu*".

In submitting these notes, I realise that I may have fallen into many of the traps of transliteration, such as are indicated in Mr. Senaveratna's paper under the name "*Badawada*," but if so I trust that readers of the *Ceylon Antiquary* will correct the errors.

## Notes & Queries.

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### WILLIAM GRANVILLE & SRI VIKRAMA RAJA SINHA.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired.)

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ON Sunday, June 26th, 1921, I happened, for the first time in my life, to be at Stoke Poges, and after admiring the typical English scenery, "the rugged elms," the pretty churchyard, its paths bordered with rose bushes in full bloom; and having inspected the Gray tomb at the corner of the east end of the north aisle of the church, the "Bicycle Window" and other seventeenth century stained glass in the Penn annex to the church, my attention was directed to a black and white marble tablet on the last pillar of the north arcade.

It bears the following inscription.—

IN MEMORY OF  
WILLIAM GRANVILLE, ESQ.  
WHOSE REMAINS ARE DEPOSITED IN A VAULT IN THIS CHURCH  
DIED THE 16TH OF JANUARY 1864 AGED 76  
HAVING SERVED HONORABLY UNDER H. M. GOVERNMENT  
IN THE CIVIL SERVICE OF THE ISLAND OF CEYLON  
FOR A PERIOD OF 35 YEARS

AND IN MEMORY OF  
ISABELLA SOPHIA HIS SECOND DAUGHTER  
DIED AT BRIGHTON ON THE 27TH OF MARCH 1843  
AGED 19 YEARS

ALSO OF FRANCES,  
WIDOW OF WILLIAM GRANVILLE, ESQ.,  
WHO DIED AT BRIGHTON APRIL 29TH, 1873.  
AGED 71 YEARS

ALSO OF FRANCES, YOUNGEST DAUGHTER OF THE ABOVE,  
WHO DIED AT BRIGHTON JUNE 8TH 1873,  
AGED 16 YEARS.

William Granville may be said to be the second Englishman to write verse about Ceylon, Captain T. A. Anderson being the first. He published at Colombo in 1830 a small book of *Poems on Ceylon*, a book now so rare that there is no copy of it in the British Museum

Library nor in that of the Colombo Museum. All that we know of his poetry is to be acquired from three extracts from it made by Major Forbes to serve as preludes to as many chapters of his book, *Eleven Years in Ceylon*. These consist of eight lines addressed to Adam's Peak at the head of chapter V ; the same number of lines on the subject of the terraced paddy fields of the Kandyanans at the head of chapter IX of Vol. I ; and four lines of meditation on wandering through the solitudes of the jungle, at the head of chapter VI of Vol. II. Possibly some one in Ceylon may possess a copy of the book. If there does exist a copy in the Island, it is to be hoped that the owner will inform the '*Ceylon Antiquary*.' Apparently none is to be obtained in England.

Granville came out to Ceylon with Sir Thomas Maitland, arriving at Galle on 13 July, 1805, was appointed a Writer, and was at once attached to the Secretariat as Second Assistant, but within three months was transferred to the Kachcheri of Colombo as First Assistant, obtaining also the post of Distributor of Stamps. He returned to the Secretariat in January, 1807 ; three years later, became Customs Master at Jaffna and, after a year there, Collector of Customs at Galle. He was there only three months when the opportunity of going home in the same ship with the Governor presented itself. He proceeded to England in the Company's ship, the *Thomas Grenville*, and returned in her eighteen months later, arriving on October 2, 1812. He spent the next three years in the Customs, and as Collector successively at Matara, Galle and Kalutara ; and on October, 1816, went back to the Secretariat as Deputy Secretary, in succession to John Gay. While Deputy Secretary, he married in 1820, Frances, second daughter of the Hon. George Turnour, who died Collector of the Vanni in 1813, father of the more distinguished "the Hon'ble George Turnour, Esq.," the Oriental scholar. Granville became Vice Treasurer on May 1, 1828, and Treasurer in 1834, the appointment that he held when he retired in April 1840, on a pension of £550 a year. He was succeeded by his brother-in-law, George Turnour. But he had left the Island with his family two years before his actual retirement, viz., in March, 1838.

#### Sri Vikrama Raja Sinha.

On 24th January, 1816, he was appointed by Governor Brownrigg to conduct the deposed King of Kandy from Colombo to Madras, and embarked the same day on board H.M.S. *Cornwallis*, of 74 guns, commanded by Captain O'Brien, with the King, the four wives of the King, and his brother-in-law. The party arrived at Madras on 21st February, the voyage lasting nearly a month, and Granville kept a very full diary of everything that happened, which was really nothing beyond various instances of the ebullition of fits of temper and of offended dignity on the part of His Majesty, including the beating of one of his wives at 6 a.m. with such energy that it woke Granville in the next cabin, and the demolition of a bed by the King with a hatchet because one of his attendants had slept on it though it was intended as a spare bedstead for the King's use whenever he found his regular cabin couch uncomfortable.

There was besides the account of an enormous dinner given by the King to the Captain, Granville, the officers, and Mrs. Sewell, the only English lady on board, which made some of the guests rather unwell next morning. There are records too of conversations with the King in which he hinted that he knew of the existence somewhere of treasure which he wanted Sir Robert Brownrigg and not Ehelapola to get possession of, and in which he disclaimed all responsibility for the Kandy massacre and attributed it to Pilima Talauwa.

But the most valuable thing in this diary is the minute description of the King's personal appearance, the only one that really is at all likely to have any accuracy about it. For Percival



or the officer in General Macdowall's suite, probably Captain Macpherson, who gave him an account of what the King looked like when he received the embassy of 1800, had but a momentary glimpse of him, and gives more attention to describing his costume than to his personal appearance.

The two pictures of him may be contrasted. Percival merely says :—"He was in appearance a young man, very black, with a light beard. He was by no means so portly or well looking as the Adigar and several other of the officers around him."

Twenty years later this is how he struck Granville.—"His person and manner possessed something peculiarly striking and distinguished ; and no one could be five minutes in his presence without discovering a grandeur and superiority about him which it is almost impossible to define. He was about six feet in height; his limbs were of Herculean size, but beautifully formed; his head small ; his features regular and handsome ; his eyes large and intensely black and piercing ; his hands and feet small and elegantly turned. He was unaccustomed to speak in a low tone of voice. His superiority in the presence of others was with him more or less manifested by the power and elevation of his voice. He thought none but the mean and humble whispered, and because he was the most despotic of kings, his voice ought therefore to be raised to its highest pitch in addressing his inferiors."

Yet Captain Macpherson, in the version of his diary that Cordiner published, describes the King as "a young man about twenty-one years of age, with an immense large head, and stupid, vacant countenance." (Vol. II, p. 306). With regard to these differing accounts it may be said that Granville had every opportunity for studying the King whom he saw every day for a month.<sup>1</sup>

Granville on completing this mission, in the discharge of which he had shown considerable tact and good temper, was thanked by the Governor, and his success may have been a factor in procuring him the appointment of Deputy Secretary to the Government in succession to John Gay, which he received on 1st October the same year.

He was a friend of Dr. John Davy, and in the following April with him, the Rev. George Bisset and Mr. Alexander Moon, made an ascent of Adam's Peak—probably the second made by Englishmen.

His diary of the voyage was published at the Wesleyan Mission Press, Colombo, in 1830, with his "Poems" as an Appendix to it, but copies of this small volume are very scarce, and to most people practically inaccessible. The *Times of Ceylon*, however, reprinted the 'Diary' in May, 1920, in its columns, and it is to be regretted that it did not appear also in the *Ceylon Antiquary*. Perhaps the fortunate possessor of the copy from which this reprint was made would say in the "Notes and Queries" section of the *Ceylon Antiquary* whether it also contains the "Poems." If it does I would suggest that they also be reprinted in one or both of these periodicals.

My discovery of his tablet at Stoke Poges was quite accidental. I had no idea he lived in that neighbourhood. Nothing is known of the family there now.

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1. There is also a description of the King given in Dr. Davy's *Ceylon* from information given by a Malay officer, but it is very slight and superficial.

# DIYAWADANA NILAMES

OF THE DALADA MALIGAWA, KANDY.

By T. P. KEPPE TIPOLA, BASNAYAKA NILAME.

THE following list of Diyawadana Nilames of the Daladā Māligāwa, (Temple of the Tooth Relic), Kandy, who have held office from the year 1720 downwards, has been compiled from MSS in my possession.

	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Any Other Office.</i>	<i>Year.</i>
1	Keppitipola	—	1720
2	Meegastenne	Adigar	1789-94
3	Ehelapola Senior	Adigar	1794-97
4	Keppitipola	—	1797-99
5	Mampitiya Bandara <sup>1</sup>	—	1799-1811
6	Pilama Talawwe (Jnr.)	Adigar	1811
7	Ehelapola	Sec : Adigar	1811-14
8	Kapuwatte	Sec : Adigar	1814-23
9	Dehigama	R. M.	1824-36
10	Mullegama	Adigar	1836-42
11	Dullewe	Adigar	1843-49
12	Dehigama, L. B.	R. M.	1849-65
13	Dunuwila, C. B.	R. M.	1865-82
14	Giragama, L. B.	R. M.	1882-97
15	Ratwatte, S.	R. M.	1897-01
16	Nugawela, C. B.	R. M.	1901-16
17	Nugawela, P. B. (present holder of the office)	R. M.	1916-

## COBRA LORE.

By H. B. WICKRAMANAYAKE.

THE cobra is regarded as a sacred animal among the village folk, and plays a great part in the folk lore of Ceylon.

There are likenesses of cobras in practically all Buddhist temples of the Island.

1. He was reduced from the Diyawadana Nilameship and appointed Ratamahatmaya of Udunuwara.

2. See *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. VI, Pt. IV, p. 230 for Note on this subject by F. W. M. Karunaratna, Mudaliyar.—ED. C. A.

The cobra is said to inhabit bo,<sup>3</sup> ironwood,<sup>4</sup> banyan,<sup>5</sup> and other majestic trees. It is really a noble, handsome animal and is fond of music. If a cobra comes to a house continually, the villagers will say that it is a deceased inmate of that house come in search of his old home and loved ones.

The cobra is said to keep guard over treasures buried under the earth. The villagers say that it is highly injurious to kill a cobra. The wicked act will ruin a whole family. So, if they see a cobra near a house, they address it respectfully, catch it in a bottle, carry it to a distance, and release it uninjured.

That the cobra, according to tradition, is a lover of children, is proved by the following legend :—

Under the fierce tropical sun, a cobra was once wending its way in search of water, when it came upon a tub of water in which a child was playing. It drank its fill, and left the child uninjured. As it was gliding peacefully homewards it met a *polonga* (viper), which stopped to inquire of it where it had quenched its thirst. The cobra mentioned the place after exacting a promise that the *polonga* would not harm the child. But the *polonga* broke its promise ; for, while it was quenching its thirst from the water in the tub, the child playfully struck it with his hand, and it bit him to death. The cobra in its anger killed the *polonga*, and ever since these two have maintained a state of animosity towards each other.

The cobra, so tradition says, possesses a gem, called "*Nāga mānikkya*," with which it lures insects. When it begins feeding in the night it vomits its gem, and the whole place about it becomes bright from the light which the gem emits. After feeding it swallows the gem.

Happy the person, who is lucky enough to be the possessor of this gem ! It will bring him everything he desires. Hence it is called the Wishing Gem. Tradition adds that the cobra kills itself in despair, when its gem is taken from it.

The cobra lives to a very old age, and in the course of its long existence drops its joints one by one till only the hood is left. When this hood expands with growth it is able to fly, and it is then known as the "*kobó nayá*," (literally "bird cobra.") Its abode is the date palm, and its food consists of the same fruit. It is found only in the heart of dense forests.

Its bite is poisonous, and if ever it settles on a man's head, it will suck the blood, and if no help is forthcoming, he will not live to tell the tale. This matter deserves further investigation, for, judging by the information I have, the "*kobó-nayá*" is no fabulous animal, but a real being, one of the wonders in the animal world.

Three persons have told me that they have met with this strange creature in the forests of Ratnapura, and a fourth that a relation of hers fell a victim to its poisonous bite.

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3. *Ficus religiosa*.

4. *Mesua ferrea*.

5. *Ficus benghalensis*.

# A CIVILIAN OF EARLY BRITISH TIMES:

HENRY PETER JOHN LAYARD.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired).

THE following is the inscription on a tablet in Bierton Church near Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire.—

IN A VAULT  
BENEATH ARE DEPOSITED  
THE MORTAL REMAINS OF  
HENRY PETER JOHN LAYARD  
LATE OF HIS MAJESTY'S CIVIL SERVICE  
IN THE ISLAND OF CEYLON  
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE NEAR AYLESBURY  
ON THE 6TH OF OCT., 1834  
IN THE 52ND YEAR  
OF HIS AGE.

(I am indebted for this copy to the Rev. A. J. K. Thompson, Vicar of Bierton.)

Henry Peter John Layard was a son of the Dean of Bristol and brother of Charles Edward Layard, who came out to join the Ceylon Civil Service *circa* 1800. Henry remained only long enough to qualify for a pension, viz., 12 years, and then retired. His chief achievement was marrying a Miss Austen and becoming the father of "Nineveh" Layard, Sir Austen Henry Layard, who was born at Paris on 5th March, 1817 and died in London on 5th July, 1894. He accompanied Edward Ledwich Mitford for part of the way on his "Land March from England to Ceylon" in 1844.

Charles Edward Layard remained in the Island for the greater part of his life, in the Civil Service. He did not become the father of an Oriental explorer, but of twenty-six children by his one and only wife, herself of Dutch parentage, among them Sir Charles Peter and General Henry Twisleton Layard. Some account of these three Layard civilians is to be found in the "*List of Inscriptions in Ceylon*."

## LIST OF ADIGARS

FROM THE TIME OF RAJA SINHA II (A.D. 1634)

By T. B. KEPPETIPOLA, BASNAYAKA NILAME.

THE following list of Adigars, who have held office from the time of Rája Sinha II, (A.D. 1634) up to date, was compiled by the Hon'ble Mr. H. W. Codrington and myself from information derived from MSS in our possession.

Prior to the reign of Rája Sinha there were four Ministers or Adigars, many years before that period there was only one Minister or Adigar. But Rája Sinha added a second and the last King Sri Vikrama, added a third.<sup>1</sup>

1. Davy, *Ceylon*, p. 143.

So far as can be gathered, the equivalent term for Adigar, before the reign of Rāja Sinha, was "Senevirat."

The last King, Sri Vikrama, in addition to the then existing 12 Dissávas, decided on having a Dissáva for Kandy called "Gangavate Dissáva,"<sup>2</sup> to which office he appointed Erawwepola.

	Name of Adigar.	1st or 2nd.	Year.	Reigning Monarch at the time.	Remarks.
1	Hindagala	1	1634	Rāja Sinha II	Presumed to have died in office
2	Gaskon	2	1634	Do	Impaled
3	Rampot (Angammana)	2	1650	Do	Died in office
4	Unambuve	1	1660	Do	Do
5	Rammolaka	1	1668	Do	Do
6	Morahela	1	1681	Do	Do
7	Weragama	1	1702	Vimala Dharma Sūriya II	Do
8	Ehelapola	1	1716	Narendra Sinha	Do
9	Rammolaka	1	1721	Do	Beheaded
10	Galagoda	2	1723	Do	Died in office
11	Hulangamuwa	2	1731	Do	Do
12	Dodanwela	1	1734	Do	Do
13	Ehelapola	1	1737	Do	Do
14	Pilama Talawwa	2	1742	Siri Vijaya Rāja Sinha	Do
15	Walagama <i>alias</i> Kapuwatta	2	1752	Kirtisiri Rāja Sinha	Do
16	Pilama Talawwa	1	1760	Do	Do
17	Munwatta <i>alias</i> Galagoda	2	1761	Do	Do
18	Angammana	1	1767	Do	Do
19	Pilama Talawwa	1	1778	Do	Do
20	Dodanwela	2	1782	Rājādhi Rāja Sinha	Was reduced from Adigarship and appointed Ratemahatmaya of Yatinuwara in which office he died.
21	Meegastenne <i>alias</i> Dumbara	2	1787	Do	Promoted 1st Adigar in 1789.
22	Meegastenne <i>alias</i> Dumbara	1	1789	Do	Died in office.
23	Erawwawela	2	1792	Sri Vikrama Rāja Sinha	Was beheaded on the wilful orders of Meegastenne Adigar without the knowledge of the King.
24	Pilama Talawwa	1	1792	Do	Beheaded.
25	Meegastenne Dumbara Maha Nilame	2	1797	Do	Died in office.
26	Ehelapola	2	1808	Do	Promoted 1st Adigar in 1811.
27	Ehelapola	1	1811	Do	Banished in 1825.
28	Unambuve	2	1811	Do	Died in office.
29	Dullewe Siya Pattuwe Maha Nilame	3	1811	Do	[This marks the beginning of the appointment of Siya Pattuwe Maha Nilames]
30	Molligoda Senior	2	1811	Do	Promoted 1st Adigar in 1814.
31	Molligoda Senior	1	1814	Do	Died in office 1823.
32	Kapuwatta	2	1814	Do	Died in office as Gabadā Nilame, 1824.
33	Ellapola	3	1815	Under British Govt.	
34	Molligoda (Jr.)	2	1819	Do	Promoted 1st Adigar 1823.
35	Molligoda (Jr.)	1	1823	Do	Dismissed in 1836 but was pardoned by His Majesty and held the position of J. P. for the whole Island until his death in 1845.
36	Ratwatta	2	1824	Do	Died in office 1827.
37	Dullewa	2	1828	Do	Dismissed in connection with the Matale Rebellion and died in 1849.
38	Mahawalatenna	1	1836	Do	
39	Mullegama Siya Pattuwe Maha Nilame	3	1836	Do	Died in office.
40	Dullewa	1	1887	Do	Do 1904
41	Hulugalla	1	1905	Do	Dismissed in connection with the Anti-Moslem riots of 1915.
42	Meedeniya, Hon'ble Mr. J. H.	1	1920	Do	The present holder who is also the Kandyan Member in the Legislative Council.

## Literary Register.

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### KANDYAN TRADITIONS

FROM THE "GAZETTEER OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCE"

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired).

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SIR Archibald Lawrie, in his *Gazetteer of the Central Province*, relates a few of the traditions current in the villages in the neighbourhood of the three districts of Kandy, Matale and Nuwara Eliya which constitute it. But as this work is now practically out of print and, except at a few Kachcheries and Libraries, difficult of access ; and as the stories are scattered throughout two volumes that, owing to its alphabetical arrangement, have no index by which to find them, it is perhaps worth while to print them here all in one or two pages of the *Ceylon Antiquary*. I do not think I have omitted any, but they no doubt form a small percentage of the whole store of stories and traditions still known among the Kandyan, gradually, it is to be feared, being forgotten.

#### Akurana Village—its Settlement.

The tradition is that three Arabs made their way to Kandy during the reign of Rája Sinha. When the Portuguese attempted an invasion, the King engaged their services to fight the enemy. Ultimately the King was successful and desired the men to settle in the country. They asked for wives from among the Kandyan women. The King gave them encouragement, and, during the *perahera*, the three men boldly carried three Kandyan young women away, and concealed them in the palace. The relatives then appealed to the King who advised that, as the Arabs had already taken the women by the hand and led them away, it was best to let them go. The relatives consented. The men went to Akurana and settled there. These were the ancestors of the people of the village. (L. p. 6).

#### Ambatalawa.

"It is said that one of the brothers of Holí Raja, a king in India, and a large number of followers landed in Ceylon in the reign of King Kuḍá Medel Raja. They found their way to Bogawantalawa. There they discovered gems which they loaded in seven boats. The boats sunk in the river at Tunmódara, since called Menik-hambantota (Glencairn). They dived, and they opened a channel, still called Holipite Ráyá, without success. Meantime, King Holí, fearing that some mishap must have happened to his brother, followed him to Ceylon. The place where they met is called Andunanne Módara, "the junction of rivers where they recognised each other." Here they built a palace, and, finding two mango trees with good fruit, they planted the whole plain with mango, hence the name Ambataláwa." (L. p. 40)

**Ándágala Oya.**

"A stream rising in the highlands which divide Maturata from Walapane at 30·62 miles from Kandy on the Lower Badulla road. . . . A golden eel (*Ándá*, an eel,) made its way through a rock in this river. A tom-tom beater, Paramá, caught it and ate its head, and, through the mysterious power he thus acquired, he became king and was crowned king Paramatta." (Lawrie, p. 54 quoting Le Mesurier's *Manual of the Nuwara Eliya District*.)

**Atirahapitiya.**

"*Atiraha* is a kind of cake. During the reign of King Rájádhi Rája Sinha, Pinnapáye Disáva of Matale asweddumized a Crown land in Weligala, and obtained water from the Maha-oya in Elkaduwa District, a distance of 6 miles (the dam is in Sakkarawatta estate). On the work being completed he invited the King to inspect the work, and for the King's accommodation he constructed a *Pattirippuwa* or temporary pavilion in the middle of the range of paddy fields (the portion of the field is now known as *Pattirippuwéliyadda*). On the day fixed for the King's visit the Disáva made great preparations, but the King disappointed him, owing to some of the ministers, who were opposed to Pinnapáye Disáva, having falsely reported that the work was insignificant. The Disáva had intended the asweddumized field for the Crown, but, being vexed by the King's neglect, he ordered all the cakes, which were ready for the entertainment, to be thrown into the fields: hence the name *Atirahapitiya*, the field of the *Atiraha* cakes. After the cakes were thrown in, on the suggestion of the Disáva the field was dedicated to the Degaldoruwe Vihára (which was then about to be completed), and, the King approved of the dedication, and, taking merit to himself, ordered a *sannas* to be issued giving these fields to the viháre." (L. pp. 80-1).

**Degaldoruwa.**

"This is said to have been the residence of Kiriwawule Rála, who refused to bow to royalty, believing himself a monarch in his own right. He planted stakes in the favourite bathing place of King Narendra Sinha at Léwella, at a short distance from Degaldoruwa. The King discovered the danger by observing some flies on the points of the stakes, which projected very slightly above the surface of the water. The King ordered the arrest of Kiriwawule Rála who threw his wife and children into a deep well in his own grounds. This well is still pointed out by the villagers at a place called Wēwatēna." (L.p.137).

**Dodanwela Maha Dewále.**

"The story is that, when King Rája Sinha was on his way to Balana to give battle to the Portuguese, the cross stick of the palanquin snapped, and he had to alight at Dodanwela. He inquired what the place was and they told him, "It was the Nahamige Kóvila." Then the King made a vow that if he succeeded in the expedition he would present his crown and jewels to the *kóvila* on his return. The King was victorious and the promise was kept. Thus the crown came to the possession of the *kóvila* which was afterwards called Dodanwela Déwále. The crown is now in the possession of Girágama Diwa Nilame. It is of thin plain gold, In the Déwále are pieces of silk, part of the King's dress. In the inner room of the déwále there is a large collection of curious old swords, Rája Sinha's and others, and Portuguese, etc., and two pictures of Kings." (L. p. 175).

**Galagama.**

Galagama, Matale South. "The daughter of King Wira Parákrama Báhu of Nevugala Nuwara, alias Galagama Nuwara, who was married to a Vedda king of the city of Opalgala, was asked by the king: "Where is the whetstone called 'Opa-gala,' on which arrow heads are sharpened?" She answered "Gala-gamé." (lit. "stone-in-the-village.") (L. p. 243).

**Gampola—The Raja Ela.**

This channel irrigates the fields of Gampolawela at Gampola. The following account of the asweddumising of these fields is quoted by Sir A. Lawrie from the *Lekam Mitiya*.<sup>1</sup>

"In the year of the illustrious King Saka 1295 (1373 A.D.). During the time when the monarch of Lanka was staying in the town of Godagama the four persons Kalu Parangiyá, Muttu Kutṭi Achchilá, Kónár Achchilá, and Kavirágayá were called to the royal presence, and were commanded to put up huts in the *wanáta* of Iradiga Dampala and to earn their livelihood. Kalu Parangiyá erected a hut under the big banian tree and tended cattle. The other three huts were put up in convenient places. Seven men who were sent to tend Kalu Parangiyá's cattle were one by one, at one place, killed by an elephant. Supposing that these deaths were caused by a demon for felling the banian tree, and with the object of avenging this through the Great Gate, the spot was tilled and sown, cutting and clearing the *nattaran* creepers with the arecanut cutter, and the produce was presented to the Great Gate. The Great Gate was well pleased with these four persons, and he ordered them to extend this cultivation, and as a mark of grace Kavirága Panditayá's son was furnished with a mamoty and he was appointed *Diyabalanná*."

The chronicle then goes on to give in detail an account of the works carried out by these men, the apportionment of the fields and the services obligatory on the different owners and villages. It adds "Up to this day the works connected with these anicuts, dams, outlets and fields of Raja-ela are under the control of *Diyabalanná* ("Water-watcher.") It explains too how cattle trespass, prevalent then as now, was dealt with in those days, nearly six hundred years ago. "Whilst King Rája Sinha was staying in Ragganwatta with the view of expelling the Portuguese, men presented themselves before the king, taking with them clean rice and vegetables, and complained to him that the fields were subject to cattle trespass. Whereupon the king furnished Kalu Arachchilá with a bow and arrow and a blanket to cover himself to keep off the cold, and an *attaniya*; Liyana Naide got a style; *Diyabalanná* a blanket, a mamoty and a '*kastáne*,' to throw at cattle. Muttu Kutṭi Achchilá got a '*samakkattu*' cloth and a bill-hook ('*méwara-ketta*') and Kónár Achchilá a handcuff and a walking-stick." (L. pp. 264-5.)

**Godapola.**

"Towards the close of the reign of King Senarat (1620-27) he divided the kingdom, and the country of Matale fell to the king's nephew, Vijayapála. He resided at Godapola, and he is often called King Godapola. Vijayapála fled to a foreign country after King Rája Sinha put his brother Kumára Sinha, King of Uva, to death." (L. p. 290.)

It was King Godapola who granted a field at Bowatta in Matale South to the Elwala family, "poured water into a chank shell and ordered that the field should be called Elwala Madama." (L. pp. 112, 218).

Kumára Sinha was Prince of Uva and brother of Rája Sinha II, who poisoned him. His other brother was King Godapola or "Godapola Maha Wásala" of Matale, who fled to the Portuguese on hearing of his brother's murder. There is another Kumára Sinha mentioned in a *Kadaimpota*.

1. It is presumed that the whole of page 265 of the *Gazetteer* consists of extracts from the *Lekam Mitiya*, but it is difficult to say.



**Hakmada—Derivation of Name.**

This is the name of a rock at Máwela in Kotmale. The tradition is that a man, who came in search of King Dutugemunu during his exile in Kotmale, blew a *hak-gedi* while standing on this rock in order to attract his attention. (L. p. 560.)

**Harispattu—Medasiyapattu.**

"The most ancient traditions of this district are connected with King Walagam Báhu who lived here before he became king." He lived at Walagadeniya with his mother. "She, unconscious of her great position, one day asked some paddy from a neighbour woman who was asleep, and who desiring not to be disturbed, said she had not the ladder to get up the granary; then Walagam Báhu's mother, urgent for paddy, said the woman might stand on her shoulder and get paddy from the granary; she did so. The future king saw the stain on his mother's shoulder, and hearing what had happened, he put the children of the house to death, in Pettadeniya."

At Mulmediyawa in Palkumbura an elephant bowed to him as king. A stone with inscription marks the incident. (Query: Has the inscription been copied?)

The Viháres at Medawala, Galgane, and Niyangoda date from his time. At Medagoda a stone is shown on which he stood while the vihára was being built.

"In the reign of the last king, Máralande Kumárihámi, the wife of the Adigar, Pilima Talawwe, when going to the Seven Korales, asked the priest of Medawala Vihára for a palanquin to travel in. The priest refused; he could not give a palanquin belonging to the vihára to carry a woman. So Pilima Talawwe Maha Nilame took Angoda from the vihára and gave it to the Máligáwa." (L.)

**Haloluwa.**

"Above the ferry is a conspicuous rock, cleft asunder. The tradition is that an enormous golden eel was caught in the river, which resisted all efforts to draw it out. An elephant was attached to a rope wound round the rock but during the night the rock was broken, and the eel and elephant were seen no more." (L. 315).

**Kandy—The 'Diwurum Bó-gaha'**

"The bo-tree, a mile and three-quarters from Kandy on the road to Talatu-oya, is a great tree, surrounded by a wall. This was of old called 'Diwurum Bó-gaha.' It was a place of peculiar sanctity, at which the ordeal by hot oil was administered." (L. p. 48).

**Kúragala Kanda.**

near Kirinda, Udapaláta. "The hill called Kúragala, once a coffee estate but now abandoned, is situate on the boundary of the village. It is noticed in the *Rasaváhiniya* as 'Vatthulapabbata.' Ceylon was at that time visited with a terrible famine called 'Beminiti Séya,' which is said to have been the cause of the destruction of Anuradhapura. A certain family lived under the shade and nourishment of a tree. At the foot of this hill a Rahat priest appeared before them, and when they had laid before the holy man a portion of their scanty fare, the tree became a source of unfailing supply to the family". (Lawrie, quoting T. B. Panabokke).

**Molagoda**

in Harispattu. There is a very curious and ancient row of large stones crossing a range of fields here. They could be converted into a temporary bridge by placing planks from one to the other throughout. "These large stones (tradition says) were brought from Danture in one night." (L. 602).

**Monarawila**

n Matale North. "Sri Danta Bráhmaṇa, one of those who brought the bo-tree to Ceylon, settled in this village." (L. p. 603.)

**Morape**

In Kotmale. "Once on a time men from Kobbēwala went hunting. A deer was shot by one of the party with an arrow, which pierced the deer and entered a *kumbuk* tree beyond. They could not draw it out, and they erected a platform and offered to a god a branch of a *mora* tree, when the arrow was drawn out. A *dēwāle* was built near the tree." The god was Kataragama, and the *dēwāle* was dedicated to him. Kobbēwala is in Uda Palāta. (L. 606).

Another tradition in this village is that "a Gansabhawa assembled to divide a field between two brothers, that they had great difficulty in determining the line of division, when a cobra was seen to cross the land, and they unanimously adopted the line of its path. The ridge then put up still exists." (L.)

**Rikiligasgoda**

The explanation of the derivation of this name given to Sir A. Lawrie was that "A tree was once felled by the road side. From its stump a number of *rikili* grew, so that the people who travelled used to take shelter under the shade. Hence it was common to say that they came resting under the shade of the Rikilla-gas-goda." *Rikilla* means a small branch, a twig. (L. p. 785.)

**Sigiriya.**

"The native traditions tell of the occupation of Sigiriya by the aboriginal Yakku. Another local tradition connects the rock with King Devānampiya Tissa, who reigned about 266 B. C. They say that the king found on the rock a golden bamboo which had three trunks called Yako-yahkti, Kusuma-yahkti and Yakuna-yahkti. In the first trunk there were golden figures of women, in the second golden flowers, and in the third golden figures of gods. The king said 'Let this rock be always remembered by me,' hence the name *Sihigiriya* 'Remembrance Rock.' (L. 791).

**Sirimalwatta**

in Lower Dumbara, two miles from Kandy on the north bank of the Mahaweliganga, is associated by tradition with Dutugemunu who is said to have had a flower garden there. It is said that there was a street between it and the city of Anuradhapura so thickly peopled "that a basket of flowers picked in the morning passed from hand to hand and reached the city in time for the evening offering." (L. p. 793).

**Some Degraded Villages <sup>2</sup>**

are mentioned by Sir A. Lawrie in his "Gazetteer" :—

**Nāpāna** in Lower Dumbara. "According to tradition this village was anciently called Paranagama. At the Kātti Mangallaya at Sagama the village failed to contribute a lamp. On discovering this the king degraded the people as Gettaru, and ordered that the village should thereafter be called Nā-pāna, 'the lamp that did not come.' It is said that the village was degraded a second time and that there is the figure of a crow and dog (*Kawudā-ballā*) inscribed on a buried stone to perpetuate the degradation. On the other side of the stone are said to be the figures of the sun and moon." (L.)

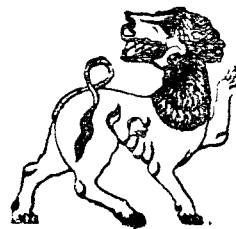
2. For a list of degraded villages given in Lawrie - *Gazetteer* of the Central Province reference should be made to a 'Note by Mr. J. M. Senaveratna in 'Ceylon Notes and Queries' (R. A. S. C. B.) Part II, pp. xxiv-v.

**Paranagama.** "Under the Kandyan Government it was usual for the Málu-murakárayo to visit villages in search of good vegetables. The people of this village, seeing that the best part of their vegetables were taken to the royal kitchen, sprinkled cow-dung on what remained with a view to disappoint the Málu-murakárayo the next time. The following week the Málu-murakárayo found this out and went to the adjoining village ; there also they found that cowdung had been sprinkled on the vegetables but at that place it had been done newly. The king, having heard what had been done by the people of the two villages, ordered that the village in which the cowdung had been sprinkled some time since should ever afterwards go by the name of Parana-goma, i.e. 'old cow-dung', and that the other village in which the cowdung had been newly sprinkled should ever afterwards be called Alut-goma or 'new cowdung' village.

"Both these villages are said to have been degraded seven times by the Kandyan kings. There was a stone at Alutgama with a carving of a dog on one side, and of the sun and moon on the other side, to commemorate this degradation, and that not even a dog should eat from them.

"Under the Kandyan Government it was held disgraceful to have any money transactions with *Geṭṭaru*, or to take boiled rice from them or to drink water from their wells." (pp 708-9).

**Wattegama :** "There is a tradition that once when King Narendra Sinha was running away in disguise from an attack of the Dutch on Kandy, he passed this village and casually met Wattegama Rála not far from the latter's residence, and asked him where his residence was. The man said 'A little distance off.' Both walked some distance together and the king asked again, 'Where is your house now?' 'We have passed it' answered the man. The king then found out that the man was unwilling to accommodate him. On his return to the capital the king proclaimed the village a 'Geṭṭara-gama.' Some time after, at the intercession of the Adigar, the king relented and allowed the village to go by the old name of Wattegama" (p. 923).



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### THE PETA—VATTHU.

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By DR. HENRY SNYDER GEHMAN, PH. D.

*(Continued from Vol. VII, Page 163.)*

BOOK TWO.

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#### VII. The Peta Story of Dhanapāla.

*(Dialogue between some merchants and a Peta.)*

**M**ERCHANTS. 1. "Naked and of hideous appearance are you, thin and with your veins visible. Your ribs stand out, and you are emaciated. Now who are you, venerable one?"

*Peta.* 2. "I, venerable sir, am a Peta, the unfortunate Yamalokika. Since I had committed a wicked deed, I went from this world to the region of the Petas."

*Merchants.* 3. "Now what evil was performed with your body, speech, or mind? In consequence of what act have you gone from here to the world of the Petas?"

*Peta.* 4. "There is a city of the Dasaññans, famous, known by the name of Erakaccha. There I formerly was a treasurer; by the name of Dhanapāla they knew me.

5. "Eighty cartloads of gold belonged to me; I had abundant gold and many pearls and cat's-eye gems.

6. "To such an extent was I the owner of great wealth, but I did not like to give. I locked my door and took my meals so that the beggars should not see me.

7. "Unbelieving and miserly was I, avaricious and abusive; I kept many people from those that were charitable and were performing good;

8. "Saying : ' There is no reward for liberality. Whence is the fruit of self-restraint ?' The lotus-ponds, the wells, and the planted pleasure gardens, the wayside watering places, and the passages at the place hard to cross, I have lost.

9. " So I, not virtuous in my deeds, left the world as an evil-doer. I was reborn in the Peta-region and am afflicted with hunger and thirst. It is fifty-five years since I died.

10. " I have no acquaintance with either food or potable water. As the withholding, so the loss ; one's perdition is in proportion to his closeness. For the Petas, they say, know it : '*As the illiberality, so the loss.*'

11. " In my previous existence I withheld ; I did not give away many treasures. In spite of the laws of charity I did not provide a refuge for myself.

12. " Now that it is all over, I repent, burdened with the consequences of my own deeds. After four months shall be my death.

13. " Down to the exceedingly severe and terrible hell I shall fall ; it is four-cornered and has four doors ; it is divided into parts by measure ; it is surrounded by an iron fence and is covered on the top with iron.

14. " Its iron floor is glowing, provided with heat. Flashing on all sides for a hundred *yojanas* it stands for all time.

15. " There for a long time I shall experience grievous pain and the fruit of my evil deeds. Therefore I bewail this fact.

16. " Therefore I tell you something excellent, all of you who are assembled here : do not commit a sinful act either openly or in secret.

17. <sup>28</sup> " If this evil deed you do or will perform, grief will not leave you, even though you fly up in the air to escape it.

18. " Be respectful to father and mother ; in the family honour the elders ; reverence the ascetics and the bráhmans. Thus you will come to heaven.

19. <sup>29</sup> " Not in the sky nor in the middle of the ocean, not even though one enters the cleft of the mountains, is found that region of the earth where one could stand and free himself from his evil deeds."

### VIII. The Peta Story of Cūḷasetthi.

(A conversation which took place between the Peta Cūḷasetthi and king Ajátasattu who was walking up and down a terrace.)

*King.* 1. " A naked, emaciated ascetic you are, venerable one. Whither are you going by night and for what reason ? Tell me this, could we help you ? Withal I give you wealth."

*Peta.* 2. " There is a city, Benares, far-famed ; at that place I was a householder, rich, but miserly. I did not give, and my mind dwelt upon lust. On account of my bad character I came to the region of Yama.

3. " Hence I am exhausted with the pangs of hunger on account of those sins ; for that very reason I go to the kinsmen for some food. But those of a sordid nature do not believe that the fruit of generosity is in the other world.

4. " My daughter tells me repeatedly : ' I will give a gift to the fathers and the grand-fathers.' The bráhmans offer to others the prepared meal by saying, ' I am going to Andhakavinda<sup>30</sup> to eat.' "

<sup>28</sup>. *Upachāra* ; read *upachāra* with C, D, and B. *Palāyita* ; emend to *Palāyita*.

<sup>29</sup>. In Minayeff's text, but omitted by B, C, and D ; quoted by the commentary to explain stanza 18; cf. *Dhammapada* 127.

<sup>30</sup>. Andhakavinda, the city in which his daughter Anula lived.

*King.* 5. To him the king said : " After you have received it, then you shall again come hither quickly. I too will make you an offering. If you have any reason, tell it to me ; in a statement of your argument, we shall hear what is worthy of belief."

*Narrative.* 6. Saying, " Very well," he went (to Andhakavinda). There they partook of food, but they were not worthy of the gift. Afterwards he came to Rájagaha <sup>31</sup> a second time and appeared in the presence of the king.

7. When the king saw the Peta coming to him, even for the second time, he said : " What shall I in my turn give ? Tell me this, whether there is any means by which you may be satisfied for quite a while."

*Peta.* 8. " Serve Buddha and the Church, O king, with food, drink, and the robes of monks. Ascribe this gift to my benefit. In this way I shall be content for a considerable time."

9. Thereupon the king descended and immediately gave boundless gifts with his own hand in the Church ; he told the affair to the Buddha, and to this Peta he ascribed the virtue of the donation.

*Peta.* 10. He, honoured, exceedingly radiant, appeared before the king, saying : " I am a Yakkha, possessed of the highest supernatural power ; men are not like unto me in majesty.

11. " Behold this incomparable potency of mine, which was brought about by you when you gave beyond measure in the Church. Satisfied continually and for all times with the many gifts, I am happy, O lord of men."

### IX. The Peta Story of Ankura.

[To clarify the situation let us make from the commentary a *resumé* of the incidents underlying this story. , Ankura is no Peta, but on account of his connexion with the Peta, the tale is called the *Ankurapetavatthu*.

To Upaságara, the son of Maháságara, king of Uttaramadhurá, and Devagabbhá, daughter of Mahákamsaka, king in the city of Asitanjana, region of Kamsabhoga, province of Uttarápátha, were born one daughter named Añjanadeví and ten sons of whom the youngest was Ankura. The brothers set out to conquer, and making their residence at Dváravati, divided their territory into ten kingdoms, but gave no portion to Añjanadeví. Then when it occurred to them that she also should have some land and that they should make eleven divisions of the conquered territory, Ankura requested them to give his portion to their sister, while he would make his living in business. Accordingly he became a merchant and always was very liberal in his gifts.

His treasurer was a slave to whom Ankura gave as a wife a lady of good family. The treasurer died while his wife was with child, and when the child was born, Ankura supported it. Then after the boy had grown up, there was some discussion as to whether he was free or slave. When Añjanadeví had heard about this, she freed him from his serfdom. The lad, however, being ashamed of the aspersions which had been cast upon his origin and not wishing to dwell there, went to the city of Bheruva, where he married the daughter of a certain tailor and maintained himself by following the sartorial trade.

At that time there was in Bheruva a great treasurer called Asayha, who was very liberal to ascetics, bráhmans, paupers, wayfarers, beggars, and mendicants. The tailor showed the poor where Asayha dwelt and told them that they could procure gifts there. For his kindness in thus directing the needy, at his death he was reborn as a yakkha dwelling in a banyan tree in a wilderness. While he was in this condition, his right hand was engaged in dispensing blessings.

There lived also in Bheruva a certain unbeliever who was discontented and held good causes in contempt. At his death he was reborn as a Peta not far from the dwelling place of the blessed spirit or Yakkha.

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31. Rájagaha, the capital of Maghada.

When Asayha died, he was reborn in the Tāvātimsa heaven in association with Sakka (Indra), the king of the gods.

In the course of time Ānkura and a bráhmaṇ, each with five hundred cartloads of goods, were travelling upon the road through the wilderness where they lost their way, and since they had to spend many days there, their supply of food and water was exhausted. Then the Yakkha saw their plight, and thinking of the help formerly rendered to him by Ānkura, showed him the tree in which he resided and decided to help them. The banyan tree was full of branches and clumps, it had thick leaves and thousands of shoots, it gave dense shade, and was a *yojana* in length, breadth, and height. When Ānkura saw this, he was pleased and encamped under it. The Yakkha held out his right hand and satisfied everybody with water; then he gave each one whatever he wanted. After everyone of the company had been satisfied with various kinds of food and drink, and when the fatigue of the journey had ceased, the bráhmaṇ-merchant unwisely conceived this thought: "Having gone from here to Kamboja in search of treasures, what shall we accomplish? But let us in some way seize this Yakkha whom we have right here and place him upon a wagon; and then we shall return directly to our city."

The *Āṅkurapetavatthu* begins at this point in the conversation, and we shall accordingly pass from the commentary to the translation of our text.]

*Bráhmaṇ.* 1. "The object for which we are going to Kamboja with our goods is accomplished in our meeting this Yakkha who gives us all we want; let us take this Yakkha along.

2. "This Yakkha let us take by obtaining his consent or by force; let us lift him upon the wagon and quickly go to Dváraka."<sup>32</sup>

*Ānkura.* 3. "Of the tree in whose shade one happens to sit or lie down, not a branch of it should he break; for he would be a betrayer of his friend, yea a sinner."

*Bráhmaṇ.* 4. "Of the tree in whose shade one happens to sit or lie down, even its trunk he may cut, if it should be to his advantage."

*Ānkura.* 5. "Of the tree in whose shade one happens to sit or lie down, not a leaf of it should he injure; for he would be a betrayer of his friend, yea a sinner."

*Bráhmaṇ.* 6. "Of the tree in whose shade one happens to sit or lie down, that even together with its roots he may pull out, if such should be to his advantage."

*Ānkura.* 7. "In whose house one should abide even though just for a night, with whom one should obtain food and drink, not against him even with the mind should one think evil. Gratitude is applauded by good men.

8. "In whose house one should tarry even though just for one night and be ministered unto with food and drink, not against him even with the mind should one meditate wickedness. He whose hand commits no injury makes an end of treachery to friends.

9. "Whoever in time past was good in his deeds and later on sinfully commits an injury, that man, bereft of his beneficent hand, will not behold good fortune."<sup>33</sup>

*Yakkha.* 10. "Not by a god or by a human being or by a sovereign would I be easily subdued. A Yakkha am I, endowed with the highest supernatural power; I go a great distance (in a flash) and am blest with beauty and strength."

*Ānkura.* 11. "Your hand is entirely golden, dripping with honey, and streams of gifts are issuing from its five fingers; various sweet juices are trickling from it. I believe that you are Purindada (Indra)."

32. Same as Dváravatī.

33. Minayeff's text here inserts the following stanza from *Dhammapada* 125: "Whoever offends the harmless man, the person pure and free from lust, upon this same fool evil returns just as fine dust thrown against the wind."

*Yakkha.* 12. "Not a god am I nor a Gandhabba nor even Sakka Purindada (Indra). *Ankura*, recognize me as a Peta who has come hither from Bheruva."

*Ankura.* 13. "What was your character, how was your conduct in your previous existence in Bheruva? On account of what holiness of yours are good works being accomplished with your hands?"

*Yakkha.* 14. "A tailor I formerly was in Bheruva, eking out a very miserable existence. I did not have the means to give.

15. "And my workshop was in the neighbourhood of Asayha, who was a believer, a master in the practices of charity, doing good deeds, and unassuming.

16. "Thither went the beggars, the paupers of various lineage; and these asked me there for the dwelling of Asayha, saying; 'Whither shall we go? God bless you: Where are the gifts dispensed?'

17. "When I was asked by these, I told them the house of Asayha as I stretched out my right arm and said: 'Go thither and good luck betide you; there in the abode of Asayha presents are dealt out.'

18. "Therefore my hand gives you what you wish; for that reason my hand is dripping with honey; on account of that holy life of mine good deeds are accomplished with my hands."

*Ankura.* 19. "Thus we see you did not give a gift to any one with your own hands, but, rejoicing in the alms of another and stretching out your hand, you proclaimed the information.

20. "Therefore your hand gives what is wanted; for that reason your hand is dripping with honey; on account of that holy life of yours good works are accomplished with your hands.

21. "Lord, that pious man who with his own hands presented the gratuities, after he had laid aside his mortal body, pray now to what region did he go?"

*Yakkha.* 22. "I do not know the going and the coming of *Angirasa*,<sup>34</sup> the dispeller of misery, but I heard in the presence of *Vessavana*<sup>35</sup> that Asayha had gone to companionship with Sakka."

*Ankura.* 23. "It is sufficient forsooth to do good and to give gifts according to one's station. When he has seen one who with his hand dispenses what is desired, who will not perform meritorious works?"

24. "Verily now upon my going from here and arriving at *Dváraka*, I shall begin to give out presents which are to bring me happiness.

25. "I shall give food and drink, clothes and dwellings, a wayside watering place and a well, and passages at the place hard to cross."

*A Peta appears.*

*Ankura.* 26. "Why are your fingers crooked and your mouth distorted and your eyes dripping? what evil deed has been done by you?"

*Peta.* 27. "For the pious householder *Angirasa* (Asayha) who loved his home, I was at the head of everything connected with his charity; I was the overseer of his bounty.

28. "There when I saw that the beggars, those desiring food, had arrived, I stepped to one side and made a face.

34. Applied to Asayha.

35. Same as *Kuvera*; cf. *Peta-Vatthu* I, 4, 2.

29. "Consequently my fingers are deformed and my mouth out of shape and my eyes dripping. Such a wicked deed was done by me."

*Āṅkura.* 30. "Justly, O wicked man, is your mouth misshapen since you made a grimace over the gifts of another.

31. "For how could one in dispensing gifts consisting of food and drink, solid food, clothes and dwellings, depend upon the acquisition of the services of another ?

32. "Verily now upon my going from here and arriving at Dváraka, I shall begin to give out presents which are to bring me happiness.

33. "I shall give both food and drink, clothes and dwellings, a wayside watering place and a well, and passages at the place hard to cross."

*Narrative.* 34. Then under these circumstances he turned back and arrived at Dváraka. *Āṅkura* established such almsgiving as would bring him happiness.

35. With a serene mind he gave food and drink, clothes and dwellings, a wayside watering place and a well.

36. "Who is hungry ? Who is thirsty ? Who wants to put on a cloak ? Whose draught-animals are weary ? At this place they shall hitch them to the wagon. Who wants a parasol and perfume ? Who, a wreath ? Who, sandals ?"

37. Thus shouted the barbers, the cooks, and the bards continually both in the morning and in the evening, there in the house of *Āṅkura*.

*Conversation between Āṅkura and Sindhaka, who had charge of handing out his gifts.*

*Āṅkura.* 38. "The people think of me, '*Āṅkura* enjoys good sleep.' *Sindhaka*, I sleep badly, since I do not see any beggars.

39. "The people think of me, '*Āṅkura* sleeps well.' *Sindhaka*, I sleep ill, since the beggars are so few in number."

*Sindhaka.* 40. "If Sakka, the lord of the Tāvātimsas, should grant you a wish, in making your choice, for what in the whole world would you express a desire ?"

*Āṅkura.* 41. "If Sakka, the lord of the Tāvātimsas, should grant me a wish, it would be that in the morning when I have gotten up, at sunrise, there should be present celestial viands and pious beggars ;

42. "That, when I give, the virtue of my gift may not waste away, and after I have given, I may not feel regret. As I give, may I cause my heart to rejoice. Thus would I choose a wish from Sakka."

*Conversation with Sonaka, who was versed in worldly wisdom.*

*Sonaka.* 43. "Do not give all your possessions to others ; but present gifts and accumulate property. For this reason wealth is assuredly better than giving. With excessive charity families do not exist.

44. "The wise men do not approve of a refusal to give nor of excessive liberality. Therefore, you see, wealth is better than almsgiving. He who has resolute righteousness should steer on a middle course."

*Āṅkura.* 45. "Well, for all you say, I for my part will give, and may the good, the pious men, cultivate my acquaintance. As a cloud filling a depression with rain water, I want to refresh all the beggars.

46. "If one has a tranquil countenance at the sight of mendicants and is joyful upon bestowing a gift, that is happiness for him who dwells in a house.

47. "If one has a tranquil countenance at the sight of mendicants and is joyful upon bestowing a gift, that is the successful attainment of good works.

48. "Just before bestowing the gift, he is happy ; while giving it, he should cause his heart to rejoice ; after he has made his donation, he is jocund. That is the successful attainment of good works."

*Narrative.* 49. Sixty thousand cartloads of food daily are distributed to the people in the house of Āṅkura, who has a desire to be good.

50. There live with Āṅkura, three thousand cooks adorned with jewels and ear-rings, who are zealously devoted to the giving of the offering.

51. Sixty thousand youths, wearing jewels and ear-rings, split the firewood at Āṅkura's extensive presentation of gifts.

52. Sixteen thousand women bedecked with every ornament knead dough into various forms at the great almsgiving of Āṅkura.

53. Sixteen thousand women arrayed in all finery, with spoons in their hands, are attending at Āṅkura's great donation.

54. Much he gave to many people ; for a long time the warrior (Āṅkura) continued to give devotedly and with his own hand, repeatedly showing his consideration.

55. Many months and fortnights, and seasons and years, yea for a long time, Āṅkura continued his great liberality.

56. So Āṅkura gave and offered for a long time ; then when he laid aside his mortal body, he entered the Tāvātimsa heaven.

57. To Anuruddha Indaka gave food with a ladle. When he laid aside his mortal body, he entered the Tāvātimsa heaven.

58. In ten points Indaka outshines Āṅkura, viz. in appearance, in speech, in sentiment, in fragrance, and in pleasant contact ;

59. In length of life, and in fame forsooth, in caste, in good fortune, and in lordship, Indaka surpasses Āṅkura.

60. When in the Tāvātimsa heaven upon the stone *paṇḍukambala* at the foot of the heavenly coral tree, Buddha, the best of men, was sojourning,

61. While the deities had assembled in the ten (thousand) worlds, they associated with the thoroughly enlightened one (the Buddha), who was tarrying on the mountain top.

62. Nor does any god transcend the Buddha in appearance ; excelling all the gods, the Buddha alone shines.

63. At that time Āṅkura was there, twelve *yojanas* from him ; not far from the Buddha Indaka puts Āṅkura in the shade.

64. As he beheld Āṅkura and Indaka and cherished him who was worthy of a favor, he spoke these words :

*Buddha.* 65. "Āṅkura, for a long time charity on a great scale was practised by you ; you are sitting too far away ; come hither into my presence."

66. Extolled by the purified one, Āṅkura spoke as follows :

*Āṅkura.* "What avails me that gift of mine ? It was destitute of a donor worthy of reward.

67. "Although Indaka here, this Yakkha, gave an insignificant gift, yet he outshines us as the moon does the multitudes of stars."



*Buddha.* 68. "Just as in a sterile field, seed, though a great deal of it be sown, does not yield much fruit and does not please the husbandman,

69. "In the very same manner bountiful liberality bestowed upon wicked people does not bring in much profit nor delights the donor.

70. "Also just as scanty seed is sown upon good ground and the harvest gladdens the farmer when there is plenty of rain,

71. "Similarly in the case of the righteous, the virtuous, and such like, any deed, however slight, becomes merit fraught with great return."

*Narrative.* 72. One should examine the gift that is to be given when that which is bestowed leads to great reward. If they give alms with due consideration, the benefactors go to heaven.

73. One should seek an auspicious and very excellent gift for those who are worthy of a favour here in the world of the living. For these givers charity is replete with abundant fruit, just as they say are seeds in a fertile field.

#### X. The Peta Story of the Mother of Uttara.

(*Conversation between the priest Kankhārevata and a Peti.*)

*Narrative.* 1. As a Buddhist priest had gone to his noonday rest and was seated upon the bank of the Ganges, he was approached by a Peti of horrid appearance and of timid look.

2. Her hair was very long and hung down to the ground; clothed with her tresses, she thus addressed the ascetic :

*Peti.* 3. "It is fifty-five years since I died. I know neither food nor potable water. Give me some water, reverend sir ; I am thirsty for a drink."

*Priest.* 4. "Here is the Ganges with its cool waters ; it flows from the Himalayas. Take some from it and drink. Why do you ask me for water?"

*Peti.* 5. "Reverend sir, if I myself take water from the Ganges, it turns into blood. Therefore I beseech you for water."

*Priest.* 6. "Now what sin was committed with your body, speech, and mind ? In consequence of what deed does the Ganges at your touch become blood?"

*Peti.* 7. "Reverend sir, my son Uttara was a believing layman, and he, against my will, gave to the ascetics clothing, food in their bowls, medicine, and a dwelling.

8. "Moved by avarice, I reviled him, saying : 'Whatsoever against my will you give to the ascetics, clothing, food in their bowls, medicine, and a dwelling,'

9. "That, O Uttara, you shall find bloody in the other world.' As a result of that deed, the Ganges becomes blood at my touch."

#### XI. The Peta Story of the Thread.

[Seven hundred years before the incident recorded in this story, while the Buddha lived at Sāvatti, a boy was in the service of a *pratyekabuddha*. When he had grown up, his mother brought home a young lady of good family to be his wife. On the marriage day the youth went bathing with his companions and died from a snake-bite. He was reborn as a *vimānapeta*, i.e. he lived in a magical palace that moved about in the atmosphere at the will of its occupant. He had, however, not forgotten his bride and was anxious to take her into his *vimāna*. One day he saw a *pratyekabuddha* arranging his clothes, and so he approached him in the form of a mortal. He showed the holy man the house of the young lady and told him to ask for some string ; at his request she gave him a ball of thread. Then the spirit of the young man, in human form, went to the house and besought the mother to be allowed to sojourn there. He remained a few days, and then after he had filled all the vessels in the house

with gold, he took the girl to his *vimāna*. In the course of seven hundred years, when the Buddha was reborn in this world, there arose in the woman regret and a great longing to return to earth. So she said, "Excellent lord, take me back to my own house." At this point the story proper begins.]

*Lady*. 1. "In my previous existence to a mendicant priest who had renounced the world, I gave some thread as he approached and made his request. As a result, numerous blessings fall to my lot, and many ten-millions of garments are produced for me.

2. "The palace is covered over with flowers and is a delight; it is variously adorned, and man-servants and hand-maidens are in attendance. So I possess it and I clothe myself in splendour; nor does the abundant wealth at any time come to an end.

3. "As a reward for just one deed, joy and happiness are here obtained. After having gone to the world of men once more, I will perform meritorious works. Take me thither, lord."

*Vimānapeta*. 4. "It is seven hundred years that you came hither. You will become both decrepit and old there, and all your relatives by my troth are dead. What will you do if you have gone from here to that place?"

*Lady*. 5. "To me it seems just seven years that I have come hither and enjoyed heavenly bliss. Having gone once more to the world of men, I will perform good deeds. Take me thither, lord."

*Narrative*. 6. Then without more ado he took her by the arm and led her back as a very tottering and aged woman, saying: "Tell also the other people who have come thither, 'Do good works, then you will receive happiness.'"

*Lady*. 7. "It has been seen by me that Petas through not performing a good deed come to grief; likewise do human beings. By executing an act which has beatitude as its consequence both gods and men are happy creatures."

[The commentary adds that she gave many presents, and dying on the seventh day after her return to earth, was reborn in the Tāvātimsa heaven.]

## XII. The Peta Story of Kannamunda.

[In the city of Kimbilā was a certain pious layman whose wife was guilty of adultery. When the offence was reported to him, he questioned her, but she replied with an oath:

"If such a sin was committed by me, may this black dog whose ears are cut off devour me on successive occasions during my existence."

Her five hundred women companions asserted that she was innocent and swore that they would be her slaves in successive births if she was guilty.

When the woman died, she was born as a *vimānapeti* on the bank of lake Kannamunda, one of the supposed inland seas in the Himālayas. When the five hundred women died, they were reborn as her slaves. During the day, as a reward for the good done during her lifetime, she enjoyed herself in heavenly bliss, but at midnight, stung by remorse, she rose from her bed and went to the shore of her lotus-pond. There a terrible black dog with his ears cut off came along, and after he had thrown her on the ground, he devoured her and cast her bones into the lotus-pond. Immediately thereupon she rose out of the water in her natural form, returned to the *vimāna* and went to sleep in her bed.

After she had lived in that place for fifty-five hundred years, the Peti finally became tired of such an existence without a man. In order to induce a mortal to come there, she threw some mangoes into a stream, thinking that if a person found the fruit, he would search for its origin. One of the mangoes floated as far as Benares, where the king was taking a bath in the Ganges. His attendants gave it to him, and since he wished to know if it was safe to be eaten, he gave a piece of it to a condemned bandit, who, upon partaking of it, was restored to youth.

When the king saw the wonderful effects and was determined to find the source of the fruit, he employed a forester, who went up the Ganges toward lake Kannamunda. When he had travelled sixty *yojanas*, he met an ascetic, who directed him farther on ; after he had traversed thirty *yojanas*, he saw another pious man, who gave him further information ; finally, after he had gone fifteen *yojanas* more, he came up to another hermit, who gave him the following instructions :

"Setting out from here and leaving the Ganges follow this small river, going against the stream, until you see a fissure in the mountains: then at night, taking a firebrand, you must enter there; since the river does not flow by night, you can travel that way. After you have proceeded several *yojanas*, you will see the mango trees."

He followed these directions and at sunrise saw a wonderful mango forest. When the Petis saw him approaching in the distance, they ran out to meet him. But since he had not done enough good to enjoy celestial bliss there, he became frightened and fled to Benares, where he told the king what happened. When the latter had heard this, being anxious to see the women and to enjoy the mangoes, he took the same route, and upon meeting the women he was taken into the *vimána*. He lived there one hundred-fifty years before he was aware of what took place at midnight.

Once he happened to rise at that hour and saw the Peti walking on the shore of the lotus-pond. In his curiosity he followed to investigate, when he saw that she was devoured by the dog. He considered these circumstances for three days, and finally he freed the Peti by killing the dog. Then ensues the following conversation :—]

*King.* 1. "Here are staircase landings of gold, resting upon the golden sands ; there are beautiful sweet-smelling lilies, a delight to the heart.

2. "Various trees form a canopy over the waters, breezes fragrant with different scents blow over them ; the ponds are covered with many pink lotuses and bedecked with the white lotus.

3. "Agitated by the wind, the delightful pools emit a pleasant odour ; they resound with the noise of the swans and herons ; they are resonant with the quack of the duck.

4. "Filled with numerous swarms of birds and echoing with a great multitude of songs, the trees yield divers kinds of fruit, the forests produce manifold flowers.

5. "Not among men is found such a city as this. You have many palaces built of gold and silver.

6. "Brightly gleaming, the four regions (the cardinal points) all are radiant. You have these five hundred maid-servants that wait upon you.

7. "They are wearing armlets of shells and are adorned with golden garments. You have many beds made of gold and silver.<sup>36</sup>

8. "Woollen blankets are upon them ; they are covered with the skins of Kadali antelopes and are all put in order. Lying down upon them, you enjoy the fulfilment of all pleasures.

9. "Yet when midnight has arrived, you get up and go out; when you have come to the pleasure garden on all sides of the lotus-pond,

10. "Upon its bank you stand, fair one, upon the green turf. Then a dog, whose ears are cut off, devours you, member after member.

11. "When you are devoured and formed into a chain of bones, you plunge into the lotus-pool, where your body becomes just as it was before.

12. "Then with a complete body, very handsome, beautiful to behold, arrayed in your clothes, you come into my presence.

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36. *Sovannaruciýamayá* in text ; read *sovannurúpiyamáyá* of M, D, and B.

13. "Now what wicked deed was committed by your body, speech, and mind ? As a punishment of what sin does the dog whose ears are cropped devour the parts of your body, one after the other? "

*Peti.* 14. "In Kimbilá was a householder, a pious layman ; his wife was I, of wicked character and an adulteress.

15. " With reference to my unchastity, thus my husband spake to me : ' It is not fitting or right that you are unfaithful to me.'

16. " Then I falsely uttered a terrible oath : ' Not do I deceive you with my body or in thought.

17. " ' But if I trespass with my person or my mind, then may this earless dog devour me part after part.'

18. " The penalty for both that deed and the falsehood I have been enduring for seven hundred years ;<sup>37</sup> ever since the time that the dog with the cropped ears has been devouring the parts of my body, one after the other.

19. Lord, you are very powerful ; for my sake you have come hither. Released from the earless one, I am free from sorrow and without fear from any source.

20. " Lord, I worship you and beseech you with reverence : revel in superhuman pleasures ; enjoy yourself with me."

*King.* 21. " I have partaken of celestial delights and am enraptured with you. Now, beloved, I pray you, quickly take me back (to Benares)."

[The commentary adds that the *Peti* complied with his request and then in sorrow returned to her home in the Himálayas.

The expression for "the dog whose ears are cut off" is *kaṇṇamuṇḍo sunakho*. The commentator doubtless intended a pun when he placed the *Peti*'s home at lake Kaṇṇamuṇḍa. The title of this tale might have been translated, *The Peta Story of the Earless (Dog)*."]

### XIII. The Story of Ubbarí.

(Conversation between the Buddha and Ubbarí, who was formerly the wife of the king of the Pañcálas.)

*Narrative.* 1. There was a king Brahmádatta, ruler of the Pañcálas ; then after the lapse of some days and nights, the sovereign fulfilled his time.

Ubbarí, his wife, went to his funeral pyre and lamented. Although she did not see Brahmádatta, she cried, " O Brahmádatta."

3. A Rishi arrived there, a holy man of righteous conduct, and on that occasion he asked those who had duly assembled there :

*Buddha.* 4. " Whose charnel house is this over which blow breezes laden with various perfumes ? Whose wife is this that mourns for her husband who has gone far away from here ? Although she does not see Brahmádatta, she wails, ' O Brahmádatta.'

5. And these then, they who had duly congregated there, answered : " Venerable sir, she is the wife of Brahmádatta ; good fortune to you and to Brahmádatta.

6. " This is his tomb over which are wafted many scents ; this is his wife who is mourning for her spouse gone far from here. Although she does not see Brahmádatta, she grieves, crying, ' O Brahmádatta' "

<sup>37</sup> According to the commentary she had lived in the *vimāna* fifty-five hundred years before the thought occurred to her to throw the mungoes into the stream. We should therefore infer that she had been suffering the torment from the dog for the same length of time ; we must bear in mind, however, that the verses are older than the frame-story.

*Buddha.* 7. "Eighty-six thousand men bearing the name Brahmadatta have been burnt in this cemetery ; for which one of these are you in sorrow ?"

*Ubbari.* 8. "Reverend sir, I mourn for him who was the king, the son of Cūḷani, the sovereign of the Pañcālas, my husband who fulfilled all my desires."

*Buddha.* 9. "Verily all who bore the name of Brahmadatta were kings ; all forsooth were the sons of Cūḷani, the rulers of the Pañcālas.

10. "For all in successive order you were the queen consort. Why do you neglect your former husbands and bewail only the last one ?"

*Ubbari.* 11. "In my case who am a woman, shall my nature remain so for a long time, venerable sir ? You are telling much of my having been a woman in the transmigration."

*Buddha.* 12. "You were a woman, you have been a man, as a beast also you were born. Thus this present condition does not appear as the limit of the states of the departed."

*Ubbari.* 13. "Verily me, glowing, being like a fire over which ghee had been poured, you sprinkled, as it were, with water. Now I put an end to all my suffering.

14. "You who drove from me, half dead with grief, the sorrow for my husband, you removed<sup>33</sup> from me indeed the pain, that gloom that resided in my heart.

15. "Now I have laid aside my affliction and am calm and serene. I do not mourn, I do not weep, having heard you, great saint."

*Narrative.* 16. When she had heard these words of his, the admirable utterance of the priest, she took the bowl and robe and embraced the ascetic life.

17. And she, leaving house and home and going forth in the houseless state, practised benevolence in order to be reborn in the Brahma world.

18. She wandered from village to village, to hamlets and royal cities; Uruvelā is the name of the town where she ended her days.

19. After she had been occupied with charity for the sake of being reborn in the Brahma world and had abandoned the thoughts of a woman, she became a denizen of the Brahma heaven.

## END OF BOOK II.

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33. Read *abbūḷha* instead of *abbūḷham*; cf. *P.V.* I, 8, 6; also cf. *Vimāna-Vatthu* VII. 9, 9, where we find *abbūḷhi*.

## MORE KANDYAN NOTES.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired).

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**TRADITIONS.** The Kandyen Helen—Sita—was carried away to a hiding place at Nuwara Eliya through the following villages in Uda Paláta :—Payingamuwa, Uda Legundeniya, Katukitalekele, Atubage Oya, Nidanketa Oya, Pussellawa, Aggalakele (Rothschild.) The neighbourhood of Madugoda in Upper Dumbara is also associated with her.

Forbes, quoted by Lawrie, states that "Sita, (Lakshmi) the wife of Rama, rested at the village of Gonawala in Matale East, when Rávana compelled her to journey from Lankapura to the forests in the interior of the Island. A fountain is said to have sprung up beside her here, where " a very large spring of pure water rises in a basin of white sand, which is surrounded by a wall and overshadowed by trees. The village is now a Muhammadan one. [Forbes, Vol. I. 345 ; Lawrie's *Gazetteer*, p. 294.]

" The road to Hakgala runs through the Sita-Eliya gorge where King Rávana confined the Princess Sita, and where she made her escape through an underground passage through the rock."

**Bembiya and Hamapola.** In my last "Kandyen Notes" I mentioned the episode of the mats supplied by these two villages for the Minipé Ela.

The mats that the Hamagama people supplied were, according to one account, of *kawan*, but according to another, of *gallaha*. As Clough gives neither word, I am unable to say whether these are both names of the same plant or what either or both plants were.

I should have added with regard to the former village that the boundary between it and Weragama, opposite Alutnuwara on the other side of the Mahaweliganga, is a certain "*tahansi damba gaha*" or "forbidden" *damba* tree. The story is that a "great great, etc., grandfather" of a Bembiya man in the reign of Rája Sinha II shot an elk, cut it in half and carried the two halves away in a pingo. On account of this exhibition of remarkable strength, the King gave him land on a *sannas* at Bembiya, this tree being the boundary.

Hamapola is across the river in Uva and is a village of tom-tom beaters. They are the only tom-tom beaters who are allowed to cremate their dead, the reason being that when Rája Sinha II. was hiding from the Portuguese, a woman of the village, being questioned by a party of Portuguese, refused to admit that she had seen him or knew where he was. He was at the time hiding among the branches of a tree in the village. The woman was therefore put to the torture and in the end to death by the Portuguese. After they had left, the King was told about her, found that she had six sons, made them all *Panikkivás* and had the corpse cremated. The six family names then acquired by the sons still survive and also the tomb of the woman.

**Rantamba.** This is the name of a crossing of the Mahaweliganga in this neighbourhood.

**Wewalagoda Stone.** There is a large rectangular stone here, 13 "carpenter's cubits" (*wadu riyan*) long,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ditto wide and 1 deep, which Dodanwala Maha Lekama had cut with the intention of taking it to Walgewwagoda, but he was not able to get it removed beyond this spot,

and there it has remained ever since. It is close to the Kapinawe Ela, which falls into the Nanu Oya—not the well known Nanu Oya which gives its name to a station and therefore has become a “household word,” but the obscure Nanu Oya near Peradeniya, quite a respectable stream, but strange to say not mentioned in the *Gazetteer* of an old resident of Peradeniya, Sir A. Lawrie.

A “carpenter's cubit” is about the same as a yard.

**Ordeal by Boiling Oil.** There was a case at Kurukohogama in the Udasiyapattu of Upper Dumbara on 1st October, 1907. Complaint was made to the Police by the Arachchi that a villager and his son had agreed that, as proof that the latter was not on terms of improper intimacy with his step-mother, he should take an oath to that effect, accompanied by dipping his hand into boiling oil. The son went through the ordeal and had in consequence to be sent to the hospital. The Magistrate held that this was not an offence on the part of either father or son.

**“Castes” of Moormen and Others.** Of course there are no castes among Muhammedans, but all Moormen are not regarded as of the same status by the Kandyans. At Kahatapitiya, Gampola, there is a family of Moormen doctors from Udunuwara whose ancestors belonged to the Royal Medical Department or *Betge* of the King, and they are considered equal to Vellálas. (Lawrie, p. 395). There are others of them at Yataberiya in Four Kórales, known as Udaiyar people, because they derive from Sheik Madar Udaiyar, who was a medical man of the Kandyan Kings. They have a chief man or headman, who is called Mulkáriya.

Also belonging to this department but at the other end of the scale are the Batgam Durayo, who had to taste the excrement of the king daily for the *Betge* people to see what the state of his health was.

Other durayas had to supply the king with limes and oranges.

**Folk-Etymology—Gelioya in Udunuwara.** The Gelioya or Gerioya passes Talawatura. The King, Rája Sinha II, when crossing it one day found the carcase of a bullock which had been thrown into the oya, hence the name (*geri*—bull.) This was told me by Nugawela, late Raté-mahatmaya and Diwa Nilame.

**Colonel Henry Hardy.** The name of Colonel Henry Hardy of the 19th Foot who took a prominent part in the operations of 1815 and 1817-8 is still remembered among the Kandyans, and representations of him may be seen on the brass plates depicting events in the career of the last King in 1815. There is a tradition that “Colonel Harding” (*sic*) made an offering to the Pattini Déwale at Paduwela in Uda Paláta of his silk handkerchief “because he was bitten by a leech in the eye while he was encamped there.” The handkerchief is still at the déwale. It is quite possible that Colonel Hardy did leave his blood-stained handkerchief at the déwale, and that it has remained there ever since, like the Portuguese swords at Dodanwela Déwale. This act of jettison or forgetfulness has now in the course of years been transformed, as might be expected, into an offering. General Studholm Hodgson who was in command of the troops in Ceylon, 1865, and who knew Colonel Hardy in Trinidad, described him as “one of the best men who ever breathed—one of the most chivalrous spirits that ever adorned the ranks even of the British Army.” Colonel Hardy died in Trinidad in 1835.

**Dodanwala Dewale Relics.** With regard to these and the traditions respecting them, see Cave's *Book of Ceylon*, p. 350. There are two embroidered silk jackets said to have been those of King Rája Sinha II., also his sword and palanquin, and some Portuguese swords. In

the Kandy Museum is his gold crown, which also was deposited at the *déwale*. (The name for the King's crown by the way is, I believe, *toppi haluwa*).

**Raksawa.** This is the conspicuous mountain of Dolostage. The tradition is that it was inhabited by a demon who smelted iron. There are still traces of iron.

Standing in front of Raksewa is "The Sentry Box." It is said that the King had sentries posted here to watch people coming from Kegalla District. This may have been so, but the appearance of this isolated rock is enough to account for its getting this name from the English—military or planters.

**Ambuluwawa** is the mountain that towers above Gampola on the west. There are several derivations given of the name. One is that it means "the hill touching the sky," from *amba*, sky, *la* water and *wawa*, hill, the two latter words that I am not familiar with.

The other is that the name is a contraction of *amla buluwa wa*, meaning "the place where a golden mango was given." To account for this name there is the following story.—

A princess, since deified, lived here in a cave. One day she was bathing in a pond called Rantattsiya (?) Pokuna, when an Indian prince who lived at Kahatapitiya fell in love with her and invoked the assistance of the god Ginikumbaya (Gini umbaya, an attendant deity of Dewil Dewiyo), who with this object made the princess sick. Pattini then appeared, and gave her a golden mango for her protection which she had won in the war with Indra.

**Hantane and King Panduwas.** There is a conspicuous red-tinged flat rock on the slope of Hantane visible from Dawlagala, and other places in Udu Nuwara. To account for its appearance it is related that King Panduwas, who was "the third king of Ceylon after Upatissa and lived 5,000 (?) years ago," was under the influence of a devil, and a ceremony was performed to exorcise this devil. This ceremony involved the rubbing of sandal wood on it. The rock is known as Handum Madala, where sandal was rubbed," (*madala* from *madinawa*, to rub.)

**Hénakanda Bisó Bandára.** There are many traditions in the *pattus* round Kandy about this queen, who seems to have been a terror to the inhabitants.

In fact the "Home Counties" of Kandy were her special preserves—Udunuwara, Yatinuwara, Harispattu, and Lower Hewaheta. She is supposed to have punished the Vellála inhabitants of the village of Haputale in the last-named "County" by removing them from the village and giving their lands to Paduwas, because on one of her royal progresses through it they had refused to attend her with torches. And on another of these nocturnal journeys at Hindagala in Harispattu, when she asked for torches and attendants from the chief of that place, he,—with more flippancy and independence than wisdom and regard for self-interest—replied 'Let the Bandára get them from the old man in the cave'—meaning the figure of Buddha in its rock temple. She thereupon confiscated his lands next day and gave them to the Viháre. These comprised the entire village of Hindagala. (See Lawrie's *Gazetteer*, p. 327.)

Hers is a name of potency still, and she has been deified. I was told at Alawatugoda in Harispattu, that the female figure in the *déwale* there was that of this queen, but of her the Kapurála and the people knew nothing. One of them however said, "How do we know that it is Bisó Bandára or even that it is the figure of a female when we have never seen it? We are not allowed to see it."

There is at the Palle *déwale* at Embekke dedicated to Kataragama a palanquin (*kúnama*) which is said to have belonged to this queen, and to have been presented by her to



the *déwálé* when as she was passing through these lands it broke down. It is painted with cherub-like figures which seem suggestive of Portuguese influence. (See Lawrie, Vol. I, p. 219.)

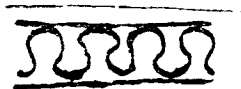
She is said to have lived for a time in a cave called Hunubathalbeme Gallena at the village of Mawela adjoining Rothschild Estate on the road from Watagoda to Pussellawa in Kotmale. She was a historical personage, for she granted a field at Pánabokke to an ancestor of that family on a stone sannas, "sun and moon." (Lawrie).

There is a tradition too that she dedicated some land to a Vihāre at Handessa in Udunuwara. (*ibid*).

**Tiyambara** is a hamlet situated nine miles from Gampola on the Gampola-Kurunduwatta road in Ganga-ihala Kórale. Four stone pillars were found here, one of which was sent to the Colombo Museum in September, 1907 or 1908, and another to the Kandy Museum.

One tradition is that Bhuvaneka Báhu V transferred the seat of Government to Kotte in 1356, leaving the royal family at Gampola and that Rája Sinha I of Nilambe, when on his way from there to Sabaragamuwa, heard of the sojourn of some of the royal family of his predecessors at Gampola, and fearing that they might kill him or oust him from the throne, sent to kill them. One of them, Konappu, escaped and remained at Gampola disguised as a Buddhist priest, and started to build a palace at Tiyambara-amba, commanding a view of the low, as well as the hill, country. Whilst he was building it, the king heard of it, and sent ministers to inquire into the matter. Konappu in consequence fled to Colombo, and from thence to Goa. He returned to Ceylon after the death of Rája Sinha and became king under the title of Vimala Dharma Suriya, in 1592.

The wife and a son of Vimala Dharma Suriya are said to have taken refuge from the Portuguese in a large cave under one of the rocks of Yatinuwara known as Kumáragala. The cave is called Kumára Gallena. There is a kóvila here with a carved wooden door of the double-arched shape with a carved frame, *haraskade* and *uttaru lélla*. The *haraskade* is of this pattern.—



and the *uttaru-lélla* of a floral pattern



with pine-apples or what looked like them.

Another tradition is that a prince of Gampola who was occupying the palace at Sinhapitiya, found that Rája Sinha's visits to Gampola were too frequent for his safety, and started to build a palace at a spot not easily accessible. For this reason he selected the hill Eraniyagamma at Tiyambara-amba, and removed thither the materials of the former palace, and when the king heard of it he sent emissaries to kill him. The prince had been warned of this by some one, and he fled from the place. The king's men pulled down what had already been erected and the place was abandoned. (25 Oct. 1907).

Tiyambara-amba, so far as I can make out, is not mentioned in Lawrie's *Gazetteer*.

**A Degraded Village—Andurubebila.** The people were outlawed by Rája Sinha II for not showing lights when he was passing. They are now the lowest of the Vellálas. The village is in Ganga-paláta, Yatinuwara.

**Dehipágana Gettaru.** These outlaws were referred to in my last "Notes." Sir A. Lawrie calls them in his *Gazetteer* "Dehipadena," which seems incorrect. I also named the village where the incident of the concealment of the lime took place, "Dehipágana" a village in the Dunuwila wasama of Medasiyapattu in Uda Dumbara. Sir A. Lawrie calls it "Dehipadena," which I think is wrong, and elsewhere he relates the incident as having occurred at Dunuwila itself, and says that the name "Dehipadena" was given to that village. There is a village in Gangapaláta, Udunuwara, called Dehipagoda which I believe is under the same ban. On these points information from some Kandyan would be welcome.



## TOPAZ-TOPASS.<sup>1</sup>

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE.

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A DISCUSSION on this interesting term took place in the pages of the *Ceylon Antiquary* in 1916, and the subject has been revived in the April number (vol. v, pt. iv) of that journal last year (1920). Several suggestions have from time to time been put forth as to the origin of the word, but only two of these have found acceptance with scholars, among whom there is still a difference of opinion regarding its derivation.

With the object of settling this vexed question, I have collected, in chronological order, as many references to, and definitions of, the term **Topaz** as appear in such authorities as Yule's *Hobson-Jobson* and the *Oxford English Dictionary*, together with additional quotations cited in the *Ceylon Antiquary* and my own notes from original records and old travellers. The whole makes an informing series and, to my mind, solves the difficulty of the origin of the term.

There can be little doubt that the word is an early Portuguese corruption, through a form *tôpâshi* in Malayâlam (the first Indian language the Portuguese learnt), of the Indian *dubhâshi* (Skr. *dvibhâshi*), one with two languages, *i.e.*, a half-breed servant of Europeans; thence a soldier, especially a gunner, and among sailors, a ship's servant, a lavatory or bath-room attendant, and incidentally, on occasion, an interpreter. In the form *topaz*, *topass* the term became differentiated from *dûbhâshi* (in the mouths of Europeans, *dubash*), a superior native interpreter, and meant always a low-class half-breed. It has no relation to *tôp*, a gun, or to *tôpî*, a hat.

1549. Father Anriquez, writing from Punicail on the 21st November, says that he was engaged for some time in making correct translations previously made by the **Topazes**. These **Topazes** had, moreover, a bad reputation and were excluded from the Jesuit College of Goa. [*Derivation of Tuppahi* by S. G. P. (who quotes the original Portuguese) in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. II. pt. i, p. 62.]
1602. The 12th ditto we saw to seaward another Champaigne (Sampan) wherein were 20 men, Mesticos and **Toupas**. [Van Spilbergen's *Voyage*, p. 34 (pub. 1648). (Quoted in *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *Topaz*.)]
1672. Madraspatam otherwise Chinnepatan, where the English have the Fort of St. George, garrison'd with **Topazes** and Mestices. [Baldaeus, *Beschryvinge van Malabar en Choromandel*, quoted by Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, I, 278.]
1673. To the Fort then belonged 300 English, and 400 **Topazes**, or Portuga Firemen. [Fryer, ed. 1698, p. 66. In his glossarial Index Fryer has **Topazes**, Musketeers. (In *Hobson Jobson*.)]

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1. *Indian Antiquary*, April 1921.

1680. It is resolved and ordered to entertain about 100 **Topasses**, or Black Portuguese, into pay. [Wheeler, *Madras in the Olden Time*, I, 121. (In *Hobson-Jobson*.)]
1681. The Dutch at Policat taking in all the **Topasses** and Peons they can get to serve them. [Pringle, *Diary and Consultation Book of Fort St. George*, p. 11.]
1686. It is resolved as soon as English soldiers can be provided sufficient for the garrison, that all **Topasses** be disbanded, and no more entertained, since there is little dependance on them. [Wheeler, *op. cit.*, p. 159.] In *Hobson Jobson*.)]
1695. Ordered that . . . six soldiers Europeans, and six **Topasses** and twenty Peons go for a guard (with the present to the Nawâb's camp). [*Consultation at Fort St. George (Madras Records)*.]
1697. You doe very well in lookeing after the [concernes] of Manuell de Monte deceased or any other **Topasses**. [*Letters from Fort St. George (Madras Records)*.]
1698. The Pags : 44 : 12 : 2 expended att Fort St. David . . . for charges on 30 **Topaz** souldiers and 8 slaves, which the ship [took] in there. [*Letters from Fort St. George (Madras Records)*]
1699. The garrison [at Fort St. George] consists of no more than three Companies of fourscore or a hundred men each, and one-third of these **Topazes** or Portuguese Indians. [Salmon's description of Madras, quoted by Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, II, 75.]
1705. **Topases** qui sont des gens du pays qu'on élève et qu'on habille à la Française, lesquels ont esté instruits dans la Religion Catholique par quelques uns de nos Missionnaires. [Luillier, *Voyage aux Grandes Indes*, pp. 45-46. (In *Hobson-Jobson*.)]
1711. The Garrison consists of about 250 Soldiers, at 91 Fanhams, or 1*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.* per month, and 200 **Topasses**, or black Mungrel Portuguese, at 50, or 52 Fanhams per month. [Lockyer, *Trade in India*, p. 14, (In *Hobson-Jobson*.)]
1717. Midford and his English Sergeant, Hill, were desperately wounded and made prisoners, together with five Europeans and forty-seven **Topasses** . . . The unfortunate **Topasses** who had their noses cut off were [afterwards, 22nd January, 1718] formed into a company of marines, and had their pay augmented to Rs. 5 a month. In this odd way the Bombay Marine Battalion appears to have had its origin. [Biddulph, *Pirates of Malabar*, pp. 93, 99.]
1720. Expedition against Gheriah . . . Many of the casualties were caused by the bursting of a gun on board the *Phram*. The explosion fired the gun on the opposite side of the deck, which was loaded with grape, and pointing over a boat full of **Topasses**. [Biddulph, *op. cit.*, p. 147.]
1727. Some Portuguese [are] called **Topasses**. . . . will be served by none but Portuguese Priests because they indulge them more in their villany. [A Hamilton, *A new Account of the East Indies*, ed. 1748, I, 326.]
1740. Number of men thought necessary for the Gunroom Crew—1 Gunner, 4 Gunner's Mates, 10 Quarter Gunners, 35 Europeans, 100 **Topasses**,

1 Syrang, 2 Tindalls, and 35 Lascars. [Consultation at Fort St. George, 30th May. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, II, 295.]

1743. There are a certain Christian people to be found in this country of Malabar, and throughout the extensive coasts of India, called **Topasses**, who cannot be reckoned as belonging exactly either to the Europeans or the natives, but from (*sic*) a third class. They are a mixed race : some are sprung from Portuguese settlers and slaves, whose children have inter-married with the blacks : but the greater part are the offspring of enfranchised Portuguese slaves. With these we must also reckon freed slaves of all races ; including Christian slaves who are chiefly of the Romish persuasion.

The name **Topas** is curious. It is supposed to be derived from two Portuguese words ("thou boy") because the Portuguese in early times, having taught their language to the slaves born in their house, made use of them as interpreters in dealing with the natives, and were in the habit of saying *Tu Pai falla aquel* or 'you boy, say so and so.' There seems to be a glimpse of truth in this account, for they still call the oldest and most respected slaves 'Pai'.

Others refer this word [to] *koepaj* [? in English, *kupai*], which in the Malabar language signifies a coat ; for they wear coat, shirt, and breeches (*sic*), like the Europeans, as likewise a hat, in sign of their freedom, and the more wealthy among them wear shoes and stockings, though more generally they go barefoot . . . But in my opinion the origin of this name must not be ascribed to *koepag* ("coat") but rather to *Toepay* ("interpreter") ; because the race served as interpreters between the people of Malabar and Christians ; and to this day the same office is exercised by many of them and is esteemed a very honourable profession. [J. C. Visscher, *Letters from Malabar*, translated by Major Heber Drury, quoted in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. V, pt. iv, p. 204.]

1745. Les Portugais et les autres Catholiques qu'on nomme Mestices et **Topasses**, également comme les naturels du Pays y viennent sans distinction pour assister aux Divine mystères. [Norbert, *Mémoires Historiques*, II, 31. (In *Hobson-Jobson*.)]
1747. The Officers . . . report their people . . . could not do more . . . against the force the enemy had, being . . . one thousand Europeans, besides **Topasses**, Coffrees, and Seapoys. [Consultation at Fort St. David, 1st March (*India Office Records*).]
1748. William Barwell to Admiral Boscawen. I have already taken into pay all the **Topasses** and other People I could possibly procure. [C. R. Wilson, *Old Fort William*, I, 213.]
1749. 600 effective Europeans would not have cost more than that Crowd of useless **Topasses** and Peons of which the Major Part of our Military has of late been composed . . .
- The **Topasses** . . . a black, degenerate, wretched Race of the antient Portuguese, as proud and bigotted as their Ancestors, lazy, idle, and vicious withal, and for the most Part as weak and feeble in Body as base in

mind, not one in ten possessed of any of the necessary Requisites for a Soldier. [*A Letter to a Proprietor of the E. I. Company*, pp. 57, 103. (In *Hobson-Jobson*.)]

1750. When our people arrived, they found English **Topasses** and peons holding Villupuram fort, on behalf of 'Abd-ul-jalil . . . Sergeant Saint-Mare, ten Europeans with twenty **Topasses** and fifty sepoy . . . returned . . . Nâsir Jang Nizâm is encamped . . . with 200 English soldiers, 100 mestices, 200 **Topasses**, 400 sepoy and 600 Carnatic peons. [*Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, vol. VI., ed. Dodwell, pp. 387, 417, 431.]
  1756. List of the smothered in the Black Hole Prison, exclusive of sixty-nine (consisting of Dutch and English sergeants, corporals, soldiers, **topazes**, militia, whites, and Portuguese) . . . [Holwell's *Narrative*, quoted by C.R. Wilson, *Old Fort William*, II, 216n.]
  1756. In this plight . . . I sustained the weight of a . . . **Topaz** bearing on my right. [Holwell, *Narrative of the Black Hole*. (In *Hobson-Jobson*.)]
  1758. There is a distinction said to be made by you. . . which, in our opinion, does no way square with rules of justice and equity, and that is the exclusion of Portuguese **Topasses**, and other Christian natives, from any share of the money granted by the Nawab. [Court's Letter, quoted in Long's *Selections*, p. 133. (In *Hobson-Jobson*.)]
  1758. A **Topaz**. [Note.] A black Christian soldier; usually termed subjects of Portugal. [*Annual Register*, 283/2. (In *O. E. D.*)]
  1766. **Topasses**, a tawny race of foot soldiers distinct from Portuguese marine natives, and called **Topasses** because they wear hats [J. H. Grose, *Voyage to the East Indies*, (2d. ed.) I, xiv. (Glossary). (In *O. E. D.*)]
  1785. **Topasses**, black foot soldiers, descended from the Portuguese marrying natives, called **Topasses**, because they wear hats. [Carraccioli, *Life of Lord Clive*, IV, 564. (In *Hobson-Jobson*.)]
  1787. I have also recommended the corps of **Topasses** or descendants of Europeans, who retain the characteristic qualities of their progenitors. [Fullarton, *View of English Interests in India*, p. 222. (In *Hobson-Jobson*.)]
  1789. **Topasses** are the sons of Europeans and black women, or low Portuguese, who are trained to arms. [Munro, *Narrative of Military Operations against the Fench*, p. 321. (In *Hobson-Jobson*.)]
  1793. **Topazes** seu *Dvibâshi*, in ora Coromandelica *Dobâchi*, ex etymologia sui nominis interpretes seu duo idiotmata calentes, unum Indicum, aliud Europæum. [*Musei Borgiani Velitris Codices Manuscripti*, auctore P. Paulino a S. Bartholomæo, Romæ, p. 251.]
- [**Topazes** or *Dvibâshi*, on the Coromandel Coast, *Dobâchi* according to the etymology of their name, interpreters, or versed in two languages, the one Indian, the other European.]

Colà essi chiamansi *Mundocârer*, gente di veste bianca, per distinguerli dalli **Tupasi**, che parlano Malabar e Portoghese, e portano cappello e calzon senza calzette e senza scarpe. [Fra Paolino, *Viaggio alle Indie Orientali*, p.144.]

[In that place (Cochin) they (Christians) are called *Mundocârer*, men of the

white robe, to distinguish them from the **Tupasis**, who speak Malabar (Tamil) and Portuguese, and wear a hat and trousers without stockings and without shoes.]

In a footnote Fra Paolino explains the origin of the term **Tupasi**. The following is a translation of his remarks : The name **Tupasi** comes from Sanscrit *Duibhâshi*, *dui*=two, and *bhâshi*=one who speaks two languages, interpreter, which all **Tupasis** are, for they speak their native vernacular and a European language. English, French, Dutch or Portuguese. In Cochin they are called 'gente de chapeau,' that is, hat men, for they wear a *topi* or hat, whilst the other Indians, who are not descendants of the Europeans, wear the *Româli*, that is to say, a white turban or muslin of the finest cotton. [Note on *Tuppahi* by S. G. P. in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. II, pt. iv, p. 282, where the extract from Fra Paolino, given above, also occurs.]

1809. **Topaz** : A word used by the Portuguese in India to designate a Christian who has father and mother of different countries. [A Vieyra, *A Dict. of the Portuguese and English Languages* (quoted by A. Mendis Gunasékara Mudaliyar in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. II, pt. i, p. 63.)]
1817. **Topasses**, or persons whom we may denominate Indo-Portuguese, either the mixed products of Portuguese and Indian parents, or converts to the Portuguese from the Indian faith. [J. Mill, *Hist. of British India*. (In *Hobson-Jobson*.)]
1821. **Tuppahiya** : interpreter, burgher (in contempt). [The Rev. B. Clough, *A Dict. of the English and Sinhalese Languages* (Quoted by S. G. P. in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. II, pt. i, p. 62).]
1855. **Topas** (Port. *Topaz*, perhaps from the H. *topi*, a hat). A native Christian sprung from a Portuguese father and Indian mother in the south of India ; in the early history of the Company these people were extensively enlisted as soldiers ; hence the term came to be applied to the Company's native soldiery generally in the Peninsula : it is now obsolete. [H. H. Wilson, *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*.]
1862. **Tuppahi**, **Tuppahiya**, from Hindi, *dobhâshiya*, an interpreter ; or from Skt. *dvibhâshi*, a dubash, servant. [The Rev. M. Winslow, *A Comprehensive Tamil and English Dict.* (Quoted by S. G. P. in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. II, pt. i, p. 62) ]
1862. The East Indian community which is here [Visscher's *Letters from Malabar*, 1743, *supra*] alluded to has undoubtedly undergone a great change since the days of our author . . . The term **Topass** has fallen into disuse, but it is singular enough that, to the present day, the Europeans in India invariably call 'boy' whenever they require a servant, East Indian or native. [Footnote by Major Heber Drury to his translation of Visscher's *Letters from Malabar*, quoted in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. V, pt. iv, p. 204.]
1865. Thirty '**Topasses**' on board the deserted ship launched a boat and got to Port Canning. [*Daily Telegraph*, 24 October. In *O. E. D.*, s. v. *Topaz*.]
1871. **Topaz** (in India), a Christian that has father and mother of different countries. [D. J. de Lacerda, *Portuguese-English Dictionary*.]

1885. **Topaz**: a native Christian sprung from a Portuguese father and an Indian mother in the South of India. [G. C. Whitworth, *An Anglo-Indian Dict.*]
1885. **Topass**, from *tôpî*, Hind., a hat, a person wearing a hat; a Christian of mixed descent, chiefly of Portuguese origin, employed on shipboard as a sweeper. [Dr. E. Balfour, *Cyclopædia of India*.]
1886. **Topaz, Topass**, etc. A name used in the 17th and 18th centuries for dark-skinned or half-caste claimants of Portuguese descent, and Christian profession. Its application is generally, though not universally, to soldiers of this class, and it is possible that it was originally a corruption of the Pers. (from Turkish) *top-chî*, a gunner. Various other etymologies have however been given. That from *topî*, a 'hat' has a good deal of plausibility, and even if the former etymology be the true *origin*, it is probable that this one was often in the minds of those using the term as its true connotation. It may have some corroboration not only in the fact that Europeans are to this day often spoken of by the natives (with a shade of disparagement) as *Topî-wâlâs* or 'Hat-men,' but also in the pride commonly taken by all persons claiming European blood in wearing a hat; indeed Fra Paolino tells us that this class called themselves *gente dechapeo*. Possibly, however, this was merely a misrendering of **topaz** from the assumed etymology. The same Fra Paolino, with his usual fertility in error, propounds in another passage that **Topaz** is a corruption of *do-bhâshîya*, 'two-tongued' (in fact is another form of *dubash*), viz., using Portuguese and a debased vernacular. The **Topaz** on board ship is the sweeper, who is at sea frequently of this class. [Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. **Topaz**.]
1886. **Topaz**. A bath-room attendant. Probably from the Portuguese. [H. A. Giles, *A Glossary of Reference on subjects connected with the Far East*, 2nd ed.] [He is still the bath-room and lavatory attendant on board ships carrying passengers to and from the East.—R. C. T.]
1891. **Tuppahi**, naturalised [Sinhalese] word derived from the Tamil *tupâsi*, interpreter. [A. Mendis Gunasékara Mudaliyar, *A Comprehensive Grammar of the Sinhalese Language*, p. 362 (Quoted by S. G. P. in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. II, pt. i, p. 62.)]
1892. **Topass tôpâshi**, Mal.). Corruption of the hindostany *doobash*. A native Christian sprung from a Portuguese father and Indian mother, in the early history of the Company extensively enlisted as soldiers; now used on ships. [*Madras Manual of Administration*, vol. III, s. v. **Topass**.]
1892. **Topass, topaz**. Anglo-Indian name of any dark-skinned half-caste of Portuguese descent; the sweeper (who is often such a half-breed) on board ship. [C.A.M. Fennell, *The Stanford Dict. of anglicised words and phrases*.]
1893. **Topass**. Applied to half-castes of Portuguese origin. The word now only survives on board steamers of the merchant service. [A. T. Pringle, *Diary and Consultation Book of the Agent and Governor of Fort St. George* (Note on p. 11 of 1681).]



1913. **Topaz.** Derived from Hind. *tôp*, gun, or Hind. *tôpi*, hat. [H. D. Love. *Vestiges of Old Madras*, I, 278 footnote.]
1913. **Topass.** E. Indies. Also **Topaz.** Adapted from Portuguese *topaz*. A man of two languages, interpreter, in which capacity these men of mixed descent were employed. A fancied derivation from Hindi *tôpî*, hat, making the term=*tôpî-wâla*, 'hat-man,' European, has been current since the middle of the 18th century.  
A dark-skinned half-breed of Portuguese descent ; often applied to a soldier, or a ship's scavenger or bath-attendant who is of this class. [*Oxford English Dict.*, s. v. **Topass**.]
- 1916 **Topasses** was the name given by the Portuguese to Eurasians, and occurs frequently in the letters of old time missionaries. Both [the Sinhalese] *Tuppahi* and [Tamil] *Tupâsi* evidently come from this **Topass**, which is probably the Hindi word referred to by Winslow [*supra*, 1862]. It has the two significations given by Clough [*supra*, 1821]. The word **Topass** is said to be derived from Hind. *tôpî*. It would be a curious piece of "learned lumber" to know whether *Tuppahi* came in to use in Sinhalese from the Tamil *Tupâsi*, or from **Topass** so frequently used by the Portuguese. The authority of the learned scholar, Mudaliyar Gunasékara, is for its introduction from the Tamil . . . The Carmelite friar Paolino a S. Bartolmao was the first to propound the derivation of **Topaz** and Dubash from *Dvibhâshi* . . . But Yule very thoughtlessly ridicules the derivation . . . **Topaz** is not pure Portuguese, but a word Lusitanised from Hindi . . . Is the Hindi word *tôpî* or *dobâshi* (*dubhâshia*, Skt. *dvibhâshi*). . . The Turkish etymology suggested by Yule may well be neglected . . . That Eurasians came to be called "hat-men" is not strange . . . I think the use of *Tuppahi* in Sinhalese literature of the 16th and 17th centuries will bear out the statement that it was first used to discriminate Eurasians. [The writer is unable to verify this statement, which is suggested by the occurrence of the word in this sense in the translations of the *Parangi Hatana*] . . . Its use in the sense of "Interpreter" is of much later date, and probably came in because Eurasians often served this purpose. It would be interesting to know the date of the earliest use of the word in the sense of "interpreter." (Father Anriquez uses **Topaz** in this sense in 1549, which is the earliest in India.) There seems to have been a different word for "interpreter." in Ceylon, i.e., *Banaca* . . . [Notes on the *Derivation of Tuppahi* by S.G.P. in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. II, pt. i, pp. 62, 124-126, 282.]
1916. The Tamil *tupâsi* (of which *tuppâsi* is a modification) is evidently derived from the Hindi *dvibhâshi*, which literally means 'one who speaks two languages.' It is not genuine Portuguese. The Portuguese **Topaz** is either a corruption of *dvibhâshi*, or of its Tamil equivalent *tupâsi*. The latter is more probable, owing to the words "South India" in Whitworth [*supra* 1885]. . . The word cannot be connected with the Hindi *tôpî*, hat, for the reason that s (*ch*) in *tupâsi* or z in **Topaz** is unaccountable, and because it

is inconceivable that only a small and insignificant section of the people who wore hats came to be called *tupási* to the exclusion of the genuine Europeans who always wore hats. The Sinhalese *tuppahi* (a modification of *tupási*) may be from the Tamil or from the Portuguese, which, as shown above, adopted the word from the Tamil. [Note by A. Mendis Gunasêkara Mudaliyar, in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. II, pt. i, p. 63.]

1916. The word **Tuppahi** is used by the Sinhalese to signify "interpreter." The Sanskrit word *dvibhâsi* signifying one who speaks two languages, has taken the form *tupási* in Tamil and the Tamil 'Tupási' has become 'Tuppahi' in Sinhalese. The word is also used by the Sinhalese to indicate a Portuguese descendant. [Note by Simon de Silva, Gate Mudaliyar, on the *Derivation of Tuppahi*, in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. II, pt. i, p. 63.]
1916. In the early intercourse of the Europeans with India, a man who was able to interpret between the European and the native, was called *dvibhâshi*, a man of two languages. In Portuguese this *dvibhâshi* became *dubash*, which is the word applied now to a ship-chandler, while in court it kept its form purer and passed into Tamil as *tupâshi*, and into Sinhalese as **tuppahi**. In the latter language it means, in addition to interpreter, also a Portuguese descendant of the mechanic class. This class is of mixed Portuguese and Sinhalese descent, and speaks two languages. Hence the designation. Note by W. F. Gunawardhana Mudaliyar on the *Derivation of Tuppahi*, in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. II, pt. i, p. 63.]
1916. In land-tombos **toepas** (*tuppahi*) means a person belonging to that class, but when followed by the word *moedianse* means interpreter (*tuppahi moedianse* — interpreter mudaliyar). So that a *tuppahi moedianse* is not necessarily a **toepas**. A person of mixed European and native descent (*mestiço*) was necessarily bi-lingual (**toepas**), and hence employed in Portuguese times as an interpreter. In process of time, the word which had reference to interpreter was used to designate a class, i.e., the lower order of *mestiço* and native Christians. The Dutch called the Interpreter-Mudaliyar "tolk modliaar." The *topi-wallah* or hat-man theory is, I think, rather far fetched. If such had been the case, one would have expected *topikárayah*, not **toepas** . . . . [Note by "Historicus" in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. II, pt. i, pp. 191-2.]
1918. In a note on a passage in the *Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai* (*supra* 1750), with reference to "100 mestices, 200 **Topasses**," Mr. H. Dodwell remarks (p. 431n.): "Mestice merely means half caste. I cannot suggest why these people should apparently be differentiated from **Topasses**."

#### ADDENDA.

By S. G. P.

1644. . . . I shall not relate how ours are employed . . . . . establishing sodalities among students and **Topasses**, who are natives of the country . . . . . [Andrew Lopez, *Breve Relação das Christandades de 1644*. Mss of the Malabar Province. S. J. Translation from *Catalogus Missionis Madurensis*, 1907, p. 2.]

1685. We must remember that in all our forts and settlements in that State there lived and are living other residents, natives of the country, with their families ; these were of Christian <sup>2</sup> parents and grandparents and they served us with affection ; we called them **Topazes** and they formed the service holders, tradesmen and merchants ; their sons served us as soldiers and have won an honourable record of services in war and have not been found wanting towards the State.

[João Ribeyro. *Fatalidade Historica da Ilha de Ceilao*. Liv. III, ch. VII. Translation from Ribeiro's *Ceylão* by Dr. P. E. Pieris, p. 408.]

1687. (A Praça de Gale) tinha de guarnição 80 Cassados Portuguezes, entre docutes, velhos, e saos, e 30 soldados da ordenenca filhos da terra, e **Topazes**, com tres Companhias qu' lhe forao de socorro e 300 lascarins Chingalaz. [Fernaõ de Queyroz. *Conquista Temporal e Espiritual de Ceylao*, f 367.]

The fortress of Galle had as garrison 80 Portuguese Cassados including the sick, the aged and the hale, and 30 soldiers of the Militia country born (Portuguese) and **Topazes**, with 3 Companies which had come there as succour and 300 Sinhalese lascarins.

- „ . . . . Ajunlow o Geral 18 Companhias de soldados de 20 ate 25 homens cada hua, entrando neste numero mais de 120 **Topazes** Christaos da terra [Ib. f 415.]

The General mustered (in Colombo) 18 Companies of soldiers of 20 to 25 men each, including in this number 120 **Topazes** country born Christians.<sup>2</sup>

1694. " Customs, formerly collected by the Topas-Moor <sup>3</sup> of Tutucoryn, but now taken by the Company <sup>4</sup> and held at the disposal of the Governor and Council of Colombo." [Item occurring in the accounts of the Pearl Fishery of 1694 "drawn up in the Fishery to the S. of Aripo 7 May, 1694. Signed Floris Bloom, etc." *Ceylon Literary Register*, III. 128.]

1803. It was from (these) black Portuguese that the troops known by the name of **Topasses** were taken. They were called **Topasses** from wearing hats instead of turbans ; the word *topee* or *chaupee*, which appears to be a corruption of the French *chapeau*, being the term used in their language for a hat.

[Robert Percival : *An Account of the Island of Ceylon*, London, 1803, p. 146.]

The *Portuguese Era*, II, 508, n 6 says : " On the word **Tuppahi** see *Orient*. III. 212." Owing to an obvious error in the reference, the passage from the *Oriente Conquistado* (1710) cannot be traced.

Mons. S. Rodolfo Dalgado—in his *Influência do Vocabulário Português em línguas Asiáticas* (Coimbra 1913)—says (pp. 152-153) among other things :

This word was used in the XVII and XVIII centuries to designate those who claimed to be of Portuguese descent, spoke Portuguese, dressed in the Portuguese fashion, professed the Catholic religion and usually served as soldiers.

The origin of the word is much discussed. At least three derivations, more or less plausible, are suggested. 1st Turco-persa-hindust. *top-chi*, gunner, because of the occupation ;

2. i.e Portuguese

3. Probably *Topaz Moor*.

4. Dutch East India Co.

2nd Hindust. *topi* hat, *topivāla*, hat man, a distinction, sometimes honorific, sometimes depreciative; 3rd *tuppasi* for *dubashi*=neo-arico *dubāshi* or *dobashi*=Sansk. *dvibashya*, bilingual, interpreter, because they spoke two languages," etc., etc. He also quotes several writers, among whom are :

Antonio Bocarro, Dec. XIII da *Historia da India*. "Septecentos portugueses, afóra alguns **topazes** tambem espingarderrio," p. 244.

Aristide Marre—(1) *Notice sur la langue portugaise dans l'Inde française en Malaisie* in *Annales de l'Extrême Orient*. III. No. 36 (1881): "Metis ou **Topas** dits gens à chapeaux."

(2) "*A India no governo do Vice-rei Conde de Villa Verde 1693-1698*" in *O Chronista de Tumary II*. 83 : "Propunha mais que era necessário á igreja de Calicut um **Topaz**, ou lingua<sup>5</sup> dos Christaos da terra, que alem de entendido fosse homem de respeito, que podene tratar com o Samorim, e com os seus ministros os negocios da igreja, e dos Christaos."

João de Lucena, *Historia da Vida do Padre Francisco Xavier* (Lisboa, 1600), II. cap. 16: "Os que as (necessidades) padecem as mostram, e representam bem sem **Topaz** nem interprete." "Estimando muyto a ocasião de se aehar sem **Topaz**."

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5. An alvará of 25 Jany. 1571 ordered that the post of *Lingua* (Lingoa,=Banaca=Banacke= cf. "Modliar en Banacke= Basnayaka Mudeliar) be given to converts. *Archivo—Port. Or.* suppl. 2nd p. 79. Which explains how Native Christians also came to be called *Topazes*.



## CORONATION OF SINHALESE KINGS:

### ORIGIN OF TWO CUSTOMS.

#### THE FIG-WOOD CORONATION CHAIR AND THE RIGHT-WHORLED CHANK.

By JOHN M. SENAVERATNA, F.R.H.S.

**A**T the ceremony of the coronation of ancient Sinhalese kings, it was an invariable custom that the Coronation chair was (and had to be) of fig-wood (Sinhalese *Udumbara* or *Aṭṭikka*) and the "sprinkling" was from a conch with spirals that ran to the right.

The antiquity of the custom in Ceylon is well attested: The Sinhalese commentary of that portion of the *Majjhima Nikāya* known as *Cullasihanada-suttavannanā*<sup>1</sup> says *inter alia* :—

"In the first place, he who wishes to be duly inaugurated as king should obtain for this purpose three chanks (golden and otherwise), water from the Ganges river, and a maiden of the Kshatriya race.

"He must himself be ripe for the ceremony (*i.e.* be over 16 years of age) and be a Kshatriya of noble lineage, and **must sit on a splendid udumbara chair**, well set in the middle of a **pavilion made of udumbara branches**, which is itself in the interior of a hall gaily decked for the ceremony of *abhiseka*.

"First of all the Kshatriya maiden of gentle race, clothed in festive attire, taking in both her hands a **right-handed sea chank**, filled with Ganges water, and raising it aloft, pours the *abhiseka* water over his head . . . . ."

Again: "What ceremonies are observed at the coronation of a King?" asked the Dutch Governor Von Falk in 1769, and the answer given by "Some of the best-informed Candian Priests respecting the antient Laws and Customs of their country" was as follows :—

"On the day of his installation, the Royal Mandapa is beautifully decorated with all sorts of precious ornaments; within that Mandapa is erected another, **made of the branches of the udumbara or attika tree**; and in the centre of this inner Mandapa is placed a **seat made of the wood of the same tree**.

"The King, covered with jewels, and invested with the insignia of royalty, wearing the sword, the pearl-umbrella, the forehead band, the slippers, and the chowrie made of the white hairs of the Semara's tail, repairs to the above-mentioned seat.

"A royal virgin, adorned with costly ornaments, and holding in her hand a **sea-chank** filled with river water and **opening to the right**, then approaches the place where the King is seated, and, lifting up the chank with both hands, pours its contents upon the King's head . . . . ."

Now, what is the origin of this ancient Coronation custom of the Sinhalese? The answer is indicated in an interesting story which the Buddha related at Jetavana under the following circumstances :—

1. Quoted in the *Mahāvamsa Tika*. For a full description of the ceremonies connected with the *abhiseka* or consecration of ancient Sinhalese Kings, see my paper on 'Royalty in Ancient Ceylon' in the C.B.R.A.S. Journal for 1920, pp 115-133.

2. Bertolacci, *Ceylon*, Appendix A, pp 454-5.

Mahá-Kosala, the King of Kosala's father, they say, in giving his daughter to King Bimbisára, allotted her a village of Kási for bath-money. After Ajátasattu had murdered his father,<sup>3</sup> King Pasenadi destroyed that village. In the battles betwixt them for it, victory at the first lay with Ajátasattu. And the King of Kosala, having the worst, asked his councillors :

"What can we devise to take Ajátasattu?"

"Great King," they answered, the Brethren have great skill of magical charms. Send messengers to them, and get the opinion of the Brethren at the monastery."

This pleased the King. Accordingly, he caused men to be sent, bidding them go thither, and hiding themselves, overhear what the Brethren should say. Now at Jetavana are many king's officers who have renounced the world. Two among these, a pair of old Elders, dwelt in a leaf hut on the outskirts of the monastery: the name of one of them was Elder Dhanuggaha-tissa, of the other the Elder Mantidatta. These had slept all the night through, and awoke at peep of day. The elder Dhanuggaha-tissa said, as he kindled the fire :

"Elder Datta, Sir."

"Well, Sir."

"Are you asleep?"

"No, I am not asleep: what's to do now?"

"A born fool that King of Kosala is; all he knows is how to eat a mess of food."

"What do you mean, Sir?"

"He lets himself be beaten by Ajátasattu, who is no better than a worm in his own belly."

"What should he do, then?"

"Why, elder Datta, you know the Order of Battle is of three kinds: Waggon Battle, Wheel Battle, and Lotus Battle.<sup>4</sup> It is the Waggon Battle he ought to use in order to catch Ajátasattu. Let him post valiant men on his two flanks on the hill-top, and then show his main battle in front: once he gets in between, out with a shout and a leap, and they have him like a fish in a lobster-pot. That is the way to catch him."

Now all this the messengers heard, and then went back and told the King. He immediately set out with a great host, and took Ajátasattu prisoner, and bound him in chains. After punishing him thus for some days, he released him, advising him not to do it again, and by way of consolation gave him his own daughter, the Princess Vajirá, in marriage, and finally dismissed him with great pomp.

There was much gossip about it among the Brethren indoors:

"Ajátasattu was caught by the King of Kosala, through following the directions of Elder Dhanuggaha-tissa!"

They talked of the same in the Hall of Truth, and the Buddha entering, asked what the talk was. They told him. Then he said:

"This is not the first time, Brethren, that Dhanuggaha-tissa has shown himself expert in strategy."

And the Buddha related to them the following old-world story<sup>5</sup> :—

3. Pasenadi was Mahá-Kosala's son, Ajátasattu killed his father Bimbisára.

4. See note 7 below.

5. I have adapted the story from the *Vaddhaki-sukara Jataka* and *Taccha-Sukara Jataka* respectively, so as to present together all the details, some of which are omitted by the one or the other. The translation is of course from the Cambridge University Edition issued under the able editorship of Professor E. B. Cowell.

Once upon a time, when Brahmadata was reigning in Benares, a carpenter, who dwelt in a village hard by the city gate of Benares, went into the forest to cut wood. He found a young Boar fallen into a pit, which he brought home and reared. The Boar grew big, with curved tusks, and was a well-mannered creature. Because the carpenter kept him, he went by the name of Carpenter's Boar.

The Boar became his servant: when the carpenter was chopping up a tree, the Boar used to turn the tree over with his snout, and with his teeth fetch hatchet and adze, chisel and mallet, and pull along the measuring line by the end. When he grew up, he was a monstrous burly beast. The carpenter, who loved him as his own son, and feared lest some one might do him a mischief there, let him go free in the forest.

The Boar thought: "I cannot live alone by myself in this forest. What if I search out my kindred, and live in their midst?" So he ran into the forest, looking for a safe and pleasant place to live in; and at last he espied a great cave up in a mountain side, with plenty of bulbs, and roots, and fruits, a pleasant living-place. Some hundreds of other boars saw him and approached him.<sup>6</sup>

Said he to them; "You are just what I am looking for, and here I have found you. This seems a nice place; and here I mean to live now with you."

"A nice place it certainly is," said they, "but dangerous."

"Ah," said he, "as soon as I saw you, I wondered how it was that those who dwell in so plentiful a place could be so meagre in flesh and blood. What is it you are afraid of?"

"There is a tiger comes in the morning, and every one he sees he seizes and carries off."

"Does this always happen, or only now and then?"

"Always."

"How many tigers are there?"

"Only one."

"What—one alone too many for all of you!"

"Yes, Sir."

"I'll catch him, if you only do what I tell you. Where does this tiger live?"

"On that hill yonder."

"At what time will he come?"

"Today he came early in the morning and took one, tomorrow he will come early in the morning."

6. In the *Taccha-Sūlara Jātaka* the Boar declares, in verse, as follows:—

"I wandered, searching far and wide the woods and hills around;  
I wandered, searching for my kin; and lo, my kin are found,

"Here are abundant roots and fruits, with plenteous store of food,  
What lovely hill and pleasant rill! to dwell here will be good.

"Here will I dwell with all my kin, not anxious, at my ease,  
Having no trouble, fearing naught from any enemies

The Boars, on hearing this, reply:—

"A foe is here! some other where take refuge, go thy ways:  
Ever the choicest of the herd, O Carpenter, he slays."

"Who is that foe? Come tell me true, my kindred, so well met,  
Who is't destroys you? though he has not quite destroyed you yet."

"A king of beasts! striped up and down he is, with teeth to bite.  
Ever the choicest of the herd he slays—a beast or might."

"And have our bodies lost their strength? Have we no tusks to show  
We shall o'ercome him if we work together, only so."

"Sweet words to hear, O Carpenter, of which my heart is fain—  
Let no Boar flee? or he shall be after the battle slain."

The Boar was skilled in warfare, and knew the place of advantage to take, so that victory might be won. He searched about for a place, and made them take food while it was yet night. Then very early in the morning he explained to them how war is of three kinds—the Lotus Army, the Wheel Army and the Waggon Army<sup>7</sup>; after which he arranged the boars, after the Lotus pattern, in this wise:

In the midst he placed the sucking pigs, and around them their mothers; around these he put the sows that had no young; around these the young porkers or little boars; around these the young ones with tusks just a-budding; around these the big tuskers; and, outside all, the old Boars fit for battle, strong and powerful, by tens and by twenties; thus he placed them in serried ranks.

Then he posted smaller squads of ten, twenty, thirty apiece here and there. Before his own position he had a round hole dug for himself; behind it, a pit getting gradually deeper and deeper, shaped like a winnowing basket,<sup>8</sup> for the tiger to fall into: between the two holes was a spit of ground for himself to stand on. Then he with the stout fighting-boars went around everywhere encouraging the Boars. As he moved about amongst them, followed by sixty or seventy Boars, bidding them be of good courage, the dawn broke.

The Tiger, coming forth from the hermitage of a sham ascetic, appeared upon the hill-top.

"Our enemy is come, Sir," the Boars cried.

"Fear not," said he, "whatever he does, you do the same."

The Tiger glared and they glared back at him. The Tiger opened his mouth and drew a long breath: the Boars all did the same. The Tiger gave himself a shake and, as though about to depart, relieved himself; so did the Boars. The Tiger looked at the Boars and roared a great roar; they did the same. Thus whatever the Tiger did, the Boars did after him.

"Why, what's this!" the Tiger wondered. "They used to take to their heels as soon as they saw me—indeed, they were too much frightened even to run. Now so far from running, they actually stand up against me, in orderly bands! Whatever I do, they mimic. There's a fellow yonder on a commanding position: he it is who has organised the rabble. Well, I don't see how to get the better of them."

And he turned away and went back to his lair.

Now there was a sham hermit, who used to get a share of the Tiger's prey. This time the Tiger returned empty-handed. Noticing this, the hermit said:

"The best, the best you always brought before

When you went hunting after the wild boar.

Now empty-handed you consume with grief,

Today where is the strength you had of yore?

7. These are technical terms. The "Wheel" explains itself: the "Waggon" was a wedge-shaped phalanx; the "Lotus," as noted by Buhler (trans. of Manu in *S.B.E.* p 246) is "equally extended on all sides and perfectly circular, the centre being occupied by the King."

According to Manu (VII, 187) the disposition of troops, apart from the Lotus pattern, should also be according to the particular circumstances "like a staff, or a waggon, or a boar, or a Makara, or a needle, or a garuda." The translators (Burnell and Hopkins) explain these as follows:—Like a "staff" is in straight column; the "waggon" has a sharp van and rear with a broad centre; the "makara" (sea-beast) is the opposite of this, having a narrow centre with a broad van and rear, the "needle" is a long, thin, sharp-pointed row; the "garuda" (mythological bird) has a very wide centre, but is otherwise like the boar.

8. The winnowing basket has low walls on three sides, two of them sloping towards the open end.



"Have you abjured all killing ? Have you sworn  
Safety for every living creature born ?  
Surely your teeth their wonted virtue lack.  
You find a herd, and come a beggar back !"

The Tiger thereupon replied :—

" My teeth no longer bite,  
My strength exhausted quite :  
Brother by brother all together stood :  
Therefore I wander lonely in the wood.

"Once they would hurry-scurry all about  
To find their holes, a panic-stricken rout,  
But now they grunt in serried ranks compact :  
Invincible, they stand and face me out.

" They all agree together now, a leader they have got ;  
When all agree they may hurt me : therefore I want them not."

To this the sham ascetic replied :

" Alone the hawk subdues the birds, alone  
The Titans are by Indra overthrown :  
And when a herd of beasts the mighty Tiger sees,  
Ever the best he picks, and kills them at his ease."

Then the Tiger declared :—

" No hawk, no tiger lord of beasts, not Indra can command  
A kindred host that tiger-like combine to make a stand."

Thereat the sham ascetic, to egg him on, said :

" The little tiny feathered fowl in flocks and coveys fly,  
In heaps together up they rise, together skim the sky.  
Down stoops the hawk, and all alone, down on them as they play.  
Harries and kills them at his will : that is your tiger's way."

This said, he further encouraged him : " Royal Tiger, you know not your own power  
One roar only, and a spring—there will not be two of them left together, I dare swear ! "

The Tiger yielded to this insistence. Plucking up his courage, he went back and stood  
there awhile on the hill.

" See, Master ! here's the scoundrel again ! " cried the Boars.

" Fear not." said Carpenter's Boar, comforting them, and then took his stand upon  
the ridge between the two pits.

With a roar the Tiger leapt upon Carpenter's Boar. At the very instant he sprang,  
the Boar dodged and dropped straight into the round hole. The Tiger could not check his

onset, but tumbled over and over and fell all of a heap in the jaws of the other pit, where it got very narrow.

Up jumped the Boar in a trice out of his hole, and quick as lightning ran his tusk into the Tiger's thighs, tore him about the kidneys, buried his fangs in the creature's sweet flesh, and wounded his head. Then he tossed him out of the pit, crying aloud :

"Here's your enemy for you !"

They who came first had tiger to eat ; but they who came after went about sniffing at the others' mouths, and asking what tiger's flesh tasted like !

But the Boars were still uneasy.

"What's the matter now ?" asked Carpenter's Boar, who had noticed their movements.

"Master," said they, "it's all very well to kill one tiger, but the sham hermit can bring ten tigers more."

"Who is he ?

"A wicked ascetic."

"The tiger I have killed ; do you suppose a man can hurt me ? Come along, and we'll get hold of him."

So they all set forth.

Now the sham ascetic had been wondering why the Tiger was so long in coming. Could the Boars have caught him ? he thought. At last he started to meet him on the way ; and as he went, there came the Boars !

He snatched up his belongings, and off he ran. The Boars tore after him. He threw away his encumbrances, and with all speed climbed up a fig (*udumbara*) tree.

"Now, Master, it's all up !" cried the herd. "The man has climbed a tree !"

"What tree ?" their leader asked.

"A fig-tree," they replied.

"Oh, very well," said the leader. "The sows must bring water, the young ones dig about the tree, the tuskers tear at the roots, and the rest surround it and watch."

They did their several tasks as he bade them : the young Boars grubbed away the earth from the roots of the tree, and the sows brought each as much water as their mouths would hold, till there the tree stood upright bare down to the roots.

Then Carpenter's Boar sent the others out of the way, and, going down on his knees, struck at the roots with his tusk ; clean through the root he cut, as with an axe, and down came the tree. The Boars, who were waiting for the man, knocked him down, tore him to pieces, gnawed the bones clean in a moment !

Again the Boar asked : "And have you another foe ?"

"No, my lord," they replied.

Then they proposed to sprinkle him for their King. They perched Carpenter's Boar on the fig tree-trunk and water was fetched.

Espying the shell which the sham ascetic used for his drinking, which was a precious conch with the spiral turned right-wise, they filled it with water, and consecrated Carpenter's Boar there on the root of the fig-tree, there the water of consecration was poured upon him. A young sow they consecrated to be his consort.

Hence arose the custom, which still prevails, that in consecrating a king they seat him upon a chair of fig-wood, and sprinkle him from a conch with spirals that run to the right.

## SINHALESE AND THE ARYAN LANGUAGES.<sup>1</sup>

(Continued from Vol VII., Page 140.)

### III.

By M. H. KANTAWALA, C.C.S.

**I**N order to refute the theory that Sinhalese is a Dravidian Language, we shall now endeavour to test it on the whetstone of what is known as "morphological classification," and lead negative evidence in support of our statements.

If Sinhalese were Dravidian, it ought naturally to respond to the various criteria which comparative philologists have from time to time laid down as the distinguishing features of the Turanian family. This family comprises such highly accomplished languages as Turkish, Tamil, and Telugu on the one hand, and such primitive speeches as Mandshu or Naga on the other.

There is such a variety of grammatical formations—such a diversity of syntactical rules in the various members that scientists have demurred in giving the name of "family" to this division; indeed, there is not so much consanguinity in the different branches as appears at first sight in the remotest off-shoots of the Aryan group; nevertheless, they all share elements in common and are probably derived from the same parental source.

Morphologically, all languages are divided into three groups or stages :—

I. Radical or Monosyllabic.

II. Agglutinative or Terminational.

III. Inflectional or Organic.

1. I am tempted to contribute this further instalment as Mudaliyar Gunawardhana persists in his view that Sinhalese is a Dravidian Language. He contributed a refutation of my original article (*The Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. VII: Part II) in almost all the daily papers. I wrote a rejoinder in the *Times of Ceylon* of Oct. 19, 1921 to which he replied in the same paper on the 28th *idem*. I did not continue the controversy. The following is—in brief—what I should have said, had I replied:

I. The learned scholar, mockingly, ignores all history, ignores the very traditions of Ceylon—nay, ignores even the whole race of the Veddas and seeks to connect the Sinhalese with the descendants of Ravana. As if the ancestors of the modern Sinhalese were responsible for the kidnapping of Sitā!

II. I quoted an axiom of Max Müller viz that languages though mixed in their dictionary could never be mixed in their grammar. Mudaliyar Gunawardhana admitted that this axiom, if true, would tell against his theory: so he weighed it in the balance and found it failed. He illustrated by showing that the English genitive by "of" was borrowed from the Romance Languages and that therefore English, which had an Anglo-Saxon Structure, had a mixed grammar. Need it be pointed out that the Romance Languages are also Latin languages? Max Müller would have certainly had a most hearty laugh, had he been told that his favourite axiom was so easily found wanting! This is what he says:

"English did not spring from the Anglo-Saxon of Wessex only but from the dialects spoken in every part of Great Britain distinguished by local peculiarities and modified at different times by the influence of Latin, Danish, Norman, French and other foreign elements."

And still it was Max Müller himself who propounded an axiom which excluded the possibility of a mixed dialect!

III. The following is a verbatim extract from the Mudaliyar's letter:

"Sanskrit the written language became fixed, while Prakrit the popular speech broke up into various local dialects and these developed into various vernaculars amidst surroundings of their own. Such a vernacular is Sinhalese." (The italics are mine). Just so. Have I scored a point, I wonder?

IV. The learned Mudaliyar goes on to dogmatise that the extent to which the Dravidian idioms appear in Sinhalese and the various Aryan vernaculars is considerable, so considerable in fact as to justify us in holding that the structural basis of these vernaculars is Dravidian and that the Aryan element is only a superimposition. I wish he had confined himself to Sinhalese and not brought the other Aryan vernaculars into the vortex of his imaginative flights. May I request him to give us instances and show by chapter and verse that the Aryan idioms are for the greater part Dravidian?

Laymen, like myself, believe in the concrete more readily than they do in the abstract.

In the first of these divisions we have such languages as the Chinese, where there is no distinction between a root and a word. There is no phonetic corruption whatever: we are at the dawn of human speech. There are no grammatical forms, no declensions, no inflections. "I beat him" or "he beats me" would be rendered by some such forms as "I to beat he" or "He to beat I." Everything depends on the position of words in a sentence. Change the position and you change the meaning. This shows a very primitive or infant stage in the evolution of phonetics.

In the second group, we go a step forward. There are declensions, there are conjugations, there is grammar. But the primary root is always kept intact. The terminations are tacked on to the roots which preserve their entity, all through the grammatical chiselling. The past tense of "go" in these languages would be "go. ed" and not "went."

In the last and the final stage we have the highest perfection of language: the original roots become obscured both in the base and in the termination. There is phonetic corruption through and through. In words like "brought"—we barely recognise the two components "bring—did."

Tamil belongs to the second and Sinhalese to the third class.

Before proceeding further it might be mentioned that all inflectional languages must have one day passed through the terminational stage and both through the radical. So it is not unusual to find in the Aryan languages, which are no doubt inflectional, traces of agglutination. *Gachchasi* would be quite a good example of any Turanian member, though it is the second person singular of the Sanskrit *Gachcha* "to go."<sup>2</sup> The fact cannot, however, be denied and has been amply demonstrated that, though traces of the middling stage betray evident signs of evolution in the Aryan and Semitic languages, no inflectional tendencies have ever been discovered among the Turanian members.<sup>3</sup>

These got stabilised when they were yet on the path of evolution and, without attaining to maturity, remained stunted. A few of their off-shoots at a very early period in the history of mankind—when the Turanians and the Aryans were yet roaming together, and before the latter had taken to cultivation or to civic life—separated from the parent stock, went through the mills of "dialectical regeneration," "phonetic decay," or "philological metamorphosis," as they are variously called, received their full quota of growth, and became such highly developed languages as the English or the Persian.

We have seen that the most important and outstanding differentia of the Turanian family is that the root is never obscured. Conjugations are formed by the "gluing" of pronouns to verbs or verbal roots—declensions by the "gluing" of prepositions to substantives or substantival bases. Both conjugations and declensions can still be taken to pieces and the terminations, whether they are modified or not, are always distinct from the roots to which they are appended. Termination "m" connotes "mine" in Turkish: add that to the past base *Sever-di* from *Sever*, "loving," and one gets *Sever-di-m*, "I loved" (lit. "my having loved"). *En* in Tamil means "my" and is the genitive singular of *Nan*. By adding it to *Po-gir* or *Po-n*, we get *Po-gir-en* or *Po-n-en*, "I go" or "I went" (lit. "my going" or "my having gone"). *Avan*, *Aval* and *Avar* are modified into *Ân* *Âl* and *Âr* and suffixed to the verbal bases in order to give us the third persons, masculine and feminine, singular and plural.

2. '*Gachcha*' is only a secondary root—its primary form being '*Gama*.' It must not be forgotten, however, that Sanskrit bifurcated quite early in the history of the Aryans when the spoken Prakrits were mostly synthetic in structure. Agglutination is therefore more prominent in Sanskrit than in the modern vernaculars.

3. The non-consonantal modifications in the Tamil roots are a result of the Law of Harmony. *Vide infra*.

Whatever the formations, however, the root *Po* remains distinct, unaltered and unalterable: it is ever awake—gaping, as it were, from the variegated apparel of conjugational terminations. Whatever the tense or the mood, whether used participially or adjectivally, whether it is *Pogiradu*, *Poven*, *Pogum* or *Pona-poludu*, the form betrays the original base *Po*. It is never touched, never modified, never mended. It retains its individuality and its *corpus*; and the terminations are mere appendages—loose trappings, as it were, patched on with due respect to the rules of euphony. What is true of *Po* is true of the majority of verbs, alike in Tamil as in the other allied languages.

And what is true of conjugations is equally true of declensions. In declining *Nân*, we take the base *En* and suffix the different terminations on to it: eg. *Ennâl*, *Ennakku*, etc. Sometimes the endings disclose their original roots and are so far radical or primitive. In *En-n-il-irindu*, *Irindu* has not yet dwindled down to the semblance of a termination.

Let us consider these formations in Sinhalese. As *Yanawâ*, the synonym of *Po*, is "irregular" in its past tense, we shall examine a more regular verb, viz. *karanavâ*. While in the present *karami* and the future *karannemi* the root *kara* is still visible, in the past *kalemi* or *keruvemi* or in the conditional *kalot* or in the verbal noun *kirima* the root is obscured, modified, transfigured. Even the verbs of the third conjugation, which are more uniform in structure than the rest, are no exceptions to the rule. The bases of the present and the past tenses differ widely.<sup>4</sup>

This is exactly what happens in the Indian languages but not in the Dravidian. On the contrary those verbs which are borrowed in Sinhalese from Tamil are never used singly or by themselves but are introduced, so to say, by the pseudo-auxiliary *karanavâ* eg. තට්ටුකරණවා (from தட்டு, "deck"), නමිබුකරණවා (from நமிய, "respect") or வீசுதரණවා (from வீசுதர, "throwing"). It may be noted in passing that in the languages of North India the root *kara* (Sans: *kṛi*) has the same function of marshalling foreign verbs.

In the declensions we march a step forward. The forms of *mama* are *mâ* or *mâva*, *mata*, *magé* or *mâge*, *magen* or *mâgen*, etc. The primal base *mama* becomes modified and loses its identity as in Sanskrit or Latin. In *magé* only a critical analyst will detect the two components: *mama* × *Gedara* (?)<sup>5</sup> If we add *Indalâ* to the latter, we get an echo of the Tamil *Irindu*, but the actual ablative singular in Sinhalese is simply *magen*.

These examples amply and clearly illustrate that, while in Tamil we are still in the agglutinative or transitional stage, we have come in Sinhalese to that form of analytical or organic development where the simple process of coalescence of a demonstrative with a predicative root results in altogether a novel and often undistinguishable product—defying all attempts at etymological dissection.

Various other criteria have been prescribed by scholars as setting the highwater mark of the Dravidian languages. Rev. Caldwell, for instance, mentions in his *Comparative Grammar* the dislike of compound or concurrent consonants. These are inadmissible either in the beginning, middle or end of a word.

"At the beginning, not only of the first syllable of every word but also of every succeeding syllable, only one consonant is allowed. If in the middle of a word of several

4 Critics will point to *Vanden*, *Tunaen*, *Ketten* in Tamil from the roots *Vâ*, *Tâ* and *Kel* respectively, as exceptions to the rule. It is true that the past bases differ here from the present, but the shortening of the primary vowel occurs even in the bases of the present tense and the addition of the nasal is in consequence of the rules of euphony. In spoken Indian Tamil the *l* sound is still audible in the past *Ketten* where the first *t* is "semi-liquid." We are dealing, besides, with the Turanian family as a whole and not with Tamil alone in its relation to Sinhalese.

5 The idea of possession in primitive languages could have only originated with one's own home or cave.

syllables, one syllable ends with a consonant and the succeeding one commences with another consonant, the concurrent consonants must be euphonicly assimilated or else a vowel must be inserted between them. At the conclusion of a word double or treble consonants are as inadmissible as at the beginning; and every word must terminate in Telugu and Canarese in a vowel—in Tamil, either in a vowel or in a single semi-vowel as 'l' or 'r' or in a single nasal as 'n' or 'm.' "

Such syllabation is obviously antipodal to the basic principles of Sinhalese. *Stūti Patra*, which is as good Sinhalese as Sanskrit, would be written in Tamil as *Istuti Pattiram*! What a world of difference!

In all Turanian languages "the determining or modifying syllables are generally placed at the end and the vowels do not become so absolutely fixed for each syllable as in Sanskrit or Hebrew (or, shall we add, Sinhalese?). In them, there is what is called the Law of Harmony, according to which the vowels of each word may be changed or modified so as to harmonise with the keynote struck by its chief vowel."<sup>6</sup>

In all the Aryan languages we have many words whose roots are common property.

All names of relations and most of the common nouns can be etymologically crystallised and traced to the parent stock. *Father*, *Père*, *Pater*, *Pitá*, *Piyá* and *Pitru* are but steps in the same linguistic ladder. Even such words as *Goose* from *Hansa* or *Artist* from *Ar*, "to plough" have "laid bare their anatomies" to the philological surgeon. Words and expressions can by the lump be shown to possess that affinity which only closely-allied languages share in common. It is the total absence of such words and such expressions or even their roots, that excludes by such a wide gulf the Dravidian from the Aryan groups. As Dr. Pope says, "without the help of Sanskrit the Tamil language can stand on its own legs"; but not so the Sinhalese. Here we have Sanskrit or Prakrit inbred and imbedded into the very structure of the language. They form its life-blood: devoid of them, Sinhalese would not only totter and gasp but cease to breathe.

Often the only guiding factors in determining relationship between the outlying Turanian tongues which do not share much in common are their pronouns, numerals and prepositions. It is in vain that we look for these parts of speech in Sinhalese. Far from showing any Dravidian affinity, they reveal their parentage in characters too bold to deceive.

From whatever standpoint one looks at it, then, one is convinced more and more that Sinhalese is Aryan, wholly Aryan and nothing else but Aryan in its structure. Its entire framework enters an emphatic protest at being "libelled" as Dravidian. Here, we are no longer wallowing in the mire of agglutination: our cadence is no longer hampered: we have homogeneous formations: we have "no fissures, no cracks, no sutures in our terminational plasters;" we have transcended all stagnation: we have emerged from the chrysalis: we have come by the zenith of evolution: we have attained that highest stage in our development to which all languages are tending—or must inevitably tend unless stabilised—viz., "*Inflectionalisation*."

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6 Max Muller: *Science of Language*, Vol. II p. 29.

## Notes & Queries.

### NOTES ON THE "MAHÁVAMSA"

#### V. VIJAYA'S "700 FOLLOWERS."

By JOHN M. SENAVERATNA, F.R.H.S.

**T**HE *Mahāvamsa* is responsible for the statement that Vijaya was accompanied to Ceylon by a band of "seven hundred followers." Thus :—

(1) Then did the King (Sihabāhu) cause Vijaya and his followers, *seven hundred men*, to be shaven over half the head, and put them on a ship and sent them forth upon the sea" (*Mah.* VI 42, 43.)

(2) "Vijaya, son of King Sihabāhu, is come to Lankā from the country of Lāla, together with *seven hundred followers*" (*Mah.* VII. 3).

(3) "Then the Yakkhini seized him, and hurled him who cried aloud into a chasm, and there in like manner she hurled all *the seven hundred* one by one after him" (*Mah.* VII 15.)

Taken by itself, the precise language of the above would appear to indicate that Vijaya was accompanied by exactly seven hundred men, no more and also no less.

But the use of the term "*seven hundred*"<sup>1</sup> generally in Buddhist literature, including even the *Mahāvamsa*,—viz. as a "round number" expressive or rather descriptive of a multitude of persons or animals, or a considerable period of time,—would not warrant such a precise conclusion.

#### In the Mahāvamsa.

Take first the *Mahāvamsa* itself ;—

(1) In connection with the Second Council of early Buddhism, we are told that "at that time the therā Revata, in order to hold a council, that the true faith might long endure, chose *seven hundred* out of all that troop of bhikkhus ; those chosen were arahants endowed with the four special sciences, &c." (*Mah.* IV. 61. 62).

(2) Pandukābhaya "in the city of Pana near the Kāsa mountain . . . gathered together *seven hundred followers* and provision for all" (*Mah.* X. 27).

(3) "The therā Mahāvyaग्gha gave thereof (i.e. of the sour millet-gruel) to *seven hundred bhikkhus* in the Ukkanagara vihāra and then ate of it himself" (*Mah.* XXXII. 54.)

Of King Narendra Sinha we are told that "he caused a casket to be made . . . to hold the relics of the great sage . . . and he caused it to be gilt and set with *seven hundred gems*" (*Mah.* XCVII. 54.)

1. Like a good many other "round" figures with which I propose to deal on another occasion.

And if you turn to the *Jātakas*, any further doubt as to the general use of the term "seven hundred" to indicate no more than a "round number" would instantly be dispelled. Here are but a few illustrations :—

In the "Jātakas."

(1) When a monk, whose passions had been roused by the sight of a well-dressed woman, is brought up before the Buddha at Jetavana, the Buddha declares : "What wonder that womankind should trouble the wits of a man like you ! Even wise men, who for 700 years have done no sin, on hearing a woman's voice, have transgressed in a moment." <sup>2</sup>

(2) In the *Supatta Jātaka* (No 292) we are told that "the admonitions of Fairwing the Crow were remembered for 700 years."

(3) In the *Sattubhastā-Jātaka* (No. 402) a brahmin, going through villages, towns and cities, gets 700 pieces and thinks this money is enough to buy slaves, male and female.

(4) In the *Junha-Jātaka* (No 456), King Junha asks a brahmin, to whom he is under some obligation, what boon he craves, and the brahmin makes reply :—

" Give me five villages, all choice and fine,  
A hundred slave-girls, seven hundred kine,  
More than a thousand ornaments of gold,  
And two wives give me, of like birth with mine."

(5) To a monk, who when going his rounds for alms in Savatthi had met a fair lady and fallen in love with her at first sight, the Buddha declares : "O Brother, why are you backsliding from a religion such as ours, that leads to salvation, and all for fleshly lusts ? Wise men of old, who were kings in Surundha, though for 700 years they abode in one chamber with a woman beauteous as the nymphs divine, yet did not yield to their senses, and never so much as looked at her with desire." And the Buddha proceeds to narrate the *Udaya-Jātaka* (No. 458) in the course of which we are told that "the Bodhisatta lived 700 years" and that "after the course of 700 years" he remembered the past, i.e. his previous birth.

(6) In the *Suppāraka-Jātaka* (No. 463) we read of a ship in imminent danger of being engulfed in the dreadful Valabhāmukha ocean and that "there were 700 souls aboard this ship."

(7) The *Sādhina-Jātaka* (No. 494) describes how Vedeha, King of Mithila, on the invitation of the gods, goes to heaven where "he dwelt for 700 years by man's reckoning, enjoying felicity."

(8) The *Bhallātiya-Jātaka* (No. 504) is a story of two fairies who kept apart for one night from each other, "and then went mourning for 700 years."

(9) In the *Kumbha-Jātaka* (No. 512)—as in the *Junha-Jātaka* (No. 456) referred to above—a king's gift includes, *inter alia*, seven hundred kine :

" Lo ! five choice villages I own are thine,  
Twice fifty handmaids, seven hundred kine,  
And these ten cars with steeds of purest blood,  
For thou hast counselled me to mine own good."

(10) We learn from the *Sambula-Jātaka* (No. 519) that Queen Sambula pined through jealousy of the other wives of the King : she grew thin and pale of countenance, and



her veins stood out upon her body. Her father-in-law, seeing her in this languid condition, asks :

" *Seven hundred elephants* by night and day  
Are guarding thee, all ready for the fray,  
Hundreds of arches shielding thee from harm ;  
Whence come the foes to fill thee with alarm ? "

(11) King Sutasoma (in the *Culla-Sutasoma-Jātaka*, No. 525), discovering one day a grey hair on his head, resolves to retire into a forest and to live an ascetic's life. His ministers and others try to dissuade him, each pleading in this wise :

" Such random words as these in uttering  
Thou mak'st an arrow quiver in my heart ;  
Remember thy *seven hundred wives*,<sup>3</sup> O King ;  
What will become of them shouldst thou depart ? "

(12) In the *Mahājanaka-Jātaka* (No. 539) we read of a ship with seven caravans with their beasts embarked on board and " in seven days the ship made *seven hundred leagues*."

To come back to Vijaya, it is I think safe to say that he was accompanied to Ceylon by a considerable following, who may have numbered less, or even more, than seven hundred : how many, precisely, they were we shall never perhaps know.

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## A RICE SOWER'S CHANT.

By H. DON CLEMENT.

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1. To the Gods and the Deities,  
Afar off and near.  
May the hour of my sowing,  
Be welcome and dear !
2. May the bags of my income,  
Be filled to the brim,  
All ye Gods and ye Deities,  
Your share shall be trim.
3. In your fanes shall be rubies,  
And sapphires, and pearls,  
Shining ivory, and gold,  
And maidens with curls.
4. Here then is the first handful,  
Of sprouting good rice.  
Let all that is sown, yield  
A forty-fold price.

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3. These are " seven hundred favourite concubines " from his harem of 16,000 wives.

## SÍTÁ-AGGALÁ.

By T. PETCH.

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IN the up-country districts of Ceylon, there are dug up, or washed out of the ground by the rains, dark-brown irregular lumps of some vegetable substance which are known to the Sinhalese as *Sítá-aggalá*, and to the Tamils as *Rávanon kolai koddai*. In shape, they are irregularly round or ovoid, somewhat resembling a distorted potato. The colour is brown or blackish brown, and the surface is generally cracked and furrowed. They are very hard, and consist internally of more or less translucent masses separated by white veins. The largest I have seen measured  $6 \times 4.5 \times 4$  centimetres.

Local tradition attributes the occurrence of these bodies to a well-known incident in the history of Ceylon. When Sítá, Ráma's queen, was abducted by Rávana and carried off to the jungles of Ceylon, she fasted for forty days. During that period, wishing to make certain offerings, she asked for fruits, etc., to be supplied her. But Rávana sent her cooked rice, whereupon, considering that an attempt to induce her to break her fast, she made the rice into balls and threw it away, at the same time invoking disaster upon Rávana and his relations. And there the evidence remains to this day, in the form of *Sítá-aggalá*, Sítá's cakes, or *Rávanon kolai koddai*, the fatal gift of Rávana.

Unfortunately, modern science, as usual, refuses to accept the tradition of the elders, and insists on seeking other explanations. According to it, these bodies are compact masses of fungus tissue which are technically known as *sclerotia*. Many fungi produce them; and they serve the purpose of enabling a fungus to live through periods of drought when the more normal forms of fungi might dry up and die.

This fungus was collected in Ceylon on Pidurutalágala in 1865 by an Italian botanist, O. Beccari, and was described by another Italian botanist, V. Cesati, who named it *Sclerotium ligulatum*. In more modern classification, it would be known as *Mylitta ligulata*. A similar *Mylitta*, found in Australia, is known as "Black Fellow's Bread," and another found in India in the Nilgiris goes by the name of "Little Man's Bread." I was informed several years ago that *Sítá-aggalá* were cooked and eaten, but I have not been able to obtain confirmation of that. Any information on that point would be welcome, as well as information on their distribution. At present, the fungus is known only from Pidurutalágala, where it was collected again in 1903, and Dolosbage, but the fact that it has Sinhalese and Tamil names suggests that it is widely distributed.

These *sclerotia*, under suitable conditions, probably during the rainy season, give rise to a fructification, which appears above ground. The fructification of the Australian species is known, and is a *Polyporus*, about four inches in diameter. It has not yet been determined what

the fructification of the Ceylon *Mytilus* is, though it should be a comparatively easy matter for anyone who lives near a locality in which the *sclerotia* are known to occur.

Several accounts of the origin of these *sclerotia* have been given me, all based on the idea that they are the remains of food. They may be of interest as indicating the variation of the foregoing tradition with the lapse of time.

One correspondent stated that they were called *Sítá-aggalá*, because they were the remains of Sítá's repasts in the jungle. That, of course, is contrary to the recorded fact that she fasted during her captivity.

In another version, current among the Tamils on a tea estate, the name had become *Rámenon koli kottei*. According to them, these bodies were food supplied to a king named Rámen, who ordered them to be thrown away because they did not contain any salt. *Rámenon koli kottei* would appear to be, on a free translation, "Rámen's chicken rissoles!"

A third explanation states that a certain god, on returning home to his evening meal, found that his wife had not cooked his rice properly. The grains were cooked on the outside, but the interior was hard. So he made it into balls, and threw it, according to my informant, "away." This explanation is the most ingenious, as it accounts for the structure of these *sclerotia*, the uncooked part of the grains of rice forming the translucent granules of the *sclerotium*, and the cooked part, the white veins.

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## CAPTAIN CHAMPION.<sup>1</sup>

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired).

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**B**REVET Lieutenant Colonel John George Champion, 95th Regiment, died on 30th Nov., 1854, at Scutari Hospital, of wounds received at the battle of Inkerman on 15 July. I never heard of a "Captain William Champion" in Ceylon, and think that Sir W. J. Hooker simply got the Christian name wrong, even though he was an exact scientist to whom names were all important. The difficulty about Captain Champion's "very brief stay" in Ceylon, and his having left Ceylon before Hooker wrote his preface to an article of 1841, may perhaps be explained by the hypothesis that Captain Champion, after accompanying his regiment out to Ceylon in 1838, soon after went home on leave. Where was the 95th before it came to Ceylon—possibly in India?

The question could be settled if some one at Colombo would take the trouble to go to the Record Office, and, having obtained permission, go through the Ceylon Calendars or Almanacks for 1838 and 1839. There is in each of them a list of Staff, R. E., R. A. and regimental officers quartered in Ceylon in those years.

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1. *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. VII, p. 47.

## SOME PORTUGUESE MSS. FOR THE HISTORY OF INDIA.

By REV. H. HOSTEN, S.J.

THE following list of some of the Portuguese MSS. to be found in libraries in Portugal was sent me lately by a friend in Europe, and, as it may help to stimulate research into the history of our ancient Missions, I wish to make it public.

At *Ajuda*: *Cartas da India*.

In the *Academia Real das Sciencias*, Lisbon: *Cartas da India*.

At the *Bibliotheca Nacional*, Lisbon:

MSS. 33.—*Historia da Christandade de S. Thomé* (the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar).

36.—*Noticias do Reino de Malabar*.

59.—*Memorial das Missoes Augustinianas na India*.

149.—*Descripção da fortaleza de Sofala e das mais da India com uma relação das religioes todas que ha no mesmo Estado*.

176.—B.N. 4; A-4-44: *Memorias e documentos para a historia ecclesiastica de Goa e seus suffraganeos*.

177.—A-5-1: *Memorias para a historia ecclesiastica de Goa e Missoes da Asia*.

179.—*Papeis para a historia ecclesiastica Asiatica*.

186.—*Missoes dos Padres Theatinos na India Oriental*.

473.—*Rebellion de Ceylan*.

530.—*Historia de Ceilão*, por João Ribeiro.

531.— " " " " " " , 1685.

536.—*Noticias do reino de Malabar* (the same as No. 36 ?). See also B-8-49 and A-2-36 of *Archivo Ultramarino*, (Lisbon ?)<sup>1</sup>.

722, 723.—*Noticias historicas da Companhia de Jesus* (two Mss. in folio of pages 1202 and 1511) relativos as Missoes da China, etc.; they belong to the collection *Jesuitas na China* da R. B. A.

753.—*Acta Congregationum Provincialium Societatis Jesu*, al amo 1590 and 1672 inclusive.

787.—Barreto de Rezende: *Tratado dos V. Reis da India*.

820.—*Historia dos Portugueses na India*.

906.—*Primeira Parte da Historia da Companhia na India*. (This first part is complete and contains some important marginal notes.)

1610.—*Guerreiro*; *Reçam Annual*. (This has been printed.)

4179.—*Relação da guerra que fizeram os Maratas no Reino de Carnate e Madurey* (com outras noticias), pelo P. Francisco Alvares, S.J., 1745.—In folio.

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1. The interrogation marks are mine.—H.H.

- 4180.—Madurey (1740-45). MS. in-folio do P. Francisco Alvares, S.J.—Mais documentos importantes relativos a India (1741-50).
- 4507.—P. Guzman : Historia de las Misiones de la Companhia de Jesus.
- 4508.—P. Guzman : Missoes do Oriente, Japaõ, etc. (In Spanish; from Bk. 6 to Bk. 11).
- 6914.—Copiador (?) de Cartas da India do Marquez de Niza (?). (At the end, contains some letters for Fr. Alexandre Cabral, S.J., Procurator-General of Malabar . . . and for Fr. Manuel Henriques, Rector of St. Paul's College, Goa.)
- 7388-91.—Catalogos (?)
- 49.—Catalogo dos Arcebispos e Bispos da Asia, Africa, etc., Portugueza. 4º.
- 1957.—Collecção de papeis reconditos originaes coms provisoões, cartas, etc., pertencentes as Estado da India.
- J—5-25.—Historia do Reino do Congo.
- 3891-2 and 1522.—Concilios Provinc. de Goa, 1567-1754.
- 494.—Relação de obras Mss pertencentes a Historia da India Oriental, por Agostinho José da Costa Macedo, 2º Bibliothecario da Biblioth. de Lisboa.
- 1521-23-25-27.—Cartas do Cardeal da Cunha a Jesuitas e a respeito de Jesuitas da India (1724-32).
- 28.—Descripção das terras da India, in 4º.
- 1409.—Diario (em latin) de viagem para a India, por um Religioso.
- 1523 and 1524.—Dubia ab Episcopo Goano proposita super nupera (?) conservatoria (?) PP. Soc. Jesu Prov. Goanae, Sac. Congri Episc.<sup>m</sup> et Reg.<sup>ium</sup> exponenda (original e em parte auth.)
- 6698.—Memoria sobre o estado da India pelo Conde de Ericeira. Pangim, 1720.
- 465.—Carta ao P. Melchior dos Reis sobre as desordens da India (Goa, 28 Dez. 1732); original.
- 6620.—Extracto das cousas pertencentes ao governo da India, tirado das cartas dos P<sup>es</sup> Geraes para os Provinciaes. In-fol.
- A-1-4.—(Caixa): Papeis pertencentes a historia ecclesiastica da Asia e suas missoes.
- J—2-53. (33 ?).—Relações sobre Ceylão (et alia).—De Ethiopia e India, 1632; P. Barradas, S. J.
- 913.—Indice dos Mss. Coll. Coimbra, S. J.
- A-5-10.—Relações remettidas da India pelos P<sup>es</sup> Theatinos sobre as progressos das Missoes. 1—fol.
- B-6-17.—Noticias da India, de 1717 até 1733.
- A-5-1.—Memorias para a historia ecclesiastica das Missoes e Conventos da India. 1-fol.
- In the *Archivo Ultramarino* :
- T-5-13.—Noticia summaria do presente estado da Missão de Ceylão, pelo P. Custodio de Mello, 1749. 1 Fol.
- E-4-25.—Memoria das Missoes da Asia, 1732. 1 Fol.
- B-6-17.—Vice Reis e Governadores da India (1505-1744).

A-4-44.—Memorias do Arcebispado de Goa e do estado e progresso das Missoes d'Asia. 1 Fol.

I may add that in the British Museum there are 60 volumes relating to India and Brazil during the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, amongst them 40 entitled : *Collecçam Authentica de todas as Leys, Regimentos, Alvaras e nais ordens que se expediram para a India desde o estabelecimento destas conquistas. Ordenada por provisam de 28 de Março de 1754.* MSS. Brit. Mus., No. 20, 861 to 20, 900. [Cf. Sir J. Emerson Tennent, *Ceylon* (I. xxviii).]

## SOME HISTORICAL NOTES.

By R. J. PEREIRA.

### "Vas-Kavi." <sup>1</sup>

THE Kuṇkunávė monk was, in the last King's reign, residing in the Aṣḡiri Viháre in Kandy. He spoke through his nose, hence he was commonly known as Kuññá Sámi (කුඤ්ඤ සාමි). He was highly regarded by all, even by the King, for his great learning.

### Diyawaḍana Nilamés.<sup>2</sup>

Diyawaḍana Nilaméllá (or its contraction Diva Nilaméllá).

In Kandyan times a Diyawaḍana Nilamé was also entrusted with the superintendence of the Ulpēn-gé (bathing establishment of the King), and when the King bathed it was his duty to wash and comb, and dress His Majesty's hair.

The term Diyawaḍana Nilamé is supposed to have had its origin from the highest dignitary in the kingdom holding amongst other offices that of watering the Śrī-Maha-Bódhin-Vahansé or the sacred Bó-tree at Anurádhapura, when the seat of Government was there.

#### List of Diyawaḍana Nilaméllá.

1. Keppitipola (or Moṇaravila)
2. Mígastēnné (or Dumbara)
4. Keppitipola (or Moṇaravila)
5. Mámpitīyé (Vahala Loku Baṇḍára), eldest natural son of King Kírti Śrī, by his morganatic wife, a Mámpitīyé lady. He was cut to pieces at Huṇukoṭuwa, near Geṭambé, by order of the King, says *D'Oyly's Diary*, page 154, "lest he should usurp the kingdom" (රජතුමා මැනවි); and on page 158 *D'Oyly* adds : "Another crime with which he was charged, was Incest with his Sister, of which the King had before warned him, but he did not desist."
6. Piḷima Talawwé (Jnr.) held offices of Disáva and R.M. ; joined Pretender 1817-18 ; banished to Mauritius ; returned and died 1833.
9. Dehigama (senr.) ? Also held offices of Disáva, Huṇubaddé Nilamé, Kúnam Maḍuvé Lékama, 1821-31.
10. Mullégama. Was Third Adigár, created by the last King : known as "Siya Pattuvé Maha Adhikáram Nilamé" ("Adigár of the Hundred Districts")

1. *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. VII, Pt. 3, p 152.

2. *Ibid* p 153

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|--------------------|--------------------------|
| 12. Dehigama, L.B. | } R. Ms. of Yaṭi Nuwara  |
| 13. Dunuwila, C.B. |                          |
| 14. Girágama, L.B. |                          |
| 15. Ratwatté, S    | R. M., Uḍa Dumbara       |
| 16. Nugawela, C.B. | } R. M.'s, Hārispattuwa. |
| 17. Nugawela, P.B. |                          |

Kobbēkaḍuwé, 2nd Adigár, 1828-1835, was dismissed for treason ; afterwards Diva Nilamé ; died 1st June, 1849 (*D'Oyly's Diary*, Index.)

### Cobra Lore.<sup>3</sup>

The Sinhalese term for a cobra is *Nāgayá, Nayá, Vishagóra Sappayá* (නාගයා, නයා, විෂගෝර සප්පයා.)

There is an adage "*Vishagóra sappayá deka nāru móḍayá*" (විෂගෝර සප්පයා දෙක නාරු මෝඩයා.) "Fool, if thou seest the venomous creature, let it not go (i.e. kill)."

I was told by some Kandyans, that the shadow of the Kobó-nayá causes death.

### List of Adigárs (Adhikáram Maha Nilaméllá)<sup>4</sup>

The equivalent term of Adigár was also : *Ēpá,* "*Mápá,*" In the reign of King Parákrama Báhu the Great, there were two Adigárs, Adhikári and Laṅkádhikári (*Mahavanṣa*) ch. 70. v., 278.)

In Kandyan times, at a later period, there were two Adhikáram Maha Nilaméllá, the first was called Pallégampahé Maha Adhikáram Nilamé, and the second Uḍagampahé Maha Adhikáram Nilamé. Shortly after the accession of the last King, he created a third office called "*Siya Pattuwé Maha Adhikáram Nilamé*" and appointed Mullégama to that office. All these offices were abolished in 1848, but in 1887, the office of Adigár was revived as an honorary title. The usual title of an Adhikárama was Maha Nilamé ("Great Officer").

The duties of the Adhikáramvaru comprehended those of Court Ministers, Chief Justices and Commanders of the Military forces. Their staff of office consisted of a lac-painted cane (*vé-vēla*) curved at the top, which was delivered into their hands by the King, upon their appointment. In former times the cane had merely a silver head and ferrule, but a cane entirely cased in silver (*ridi-vévēla*) was introduced by the last King. For the better support of their dignity, a Disávané was usually conferred on each.

The Adhikáramvaru paid annually into the Royal Treasury (*Maha Aramudala*) a sum of 500 *ridi* each, being their tribute called "*ḍekum.*"

(Note.—The late Wégoḍapola Basnáyaka Nilamé related to me as having heard from a Dugganná Nilamé, that the last King addressed Mígastēnné and Piḷima Talawwé (senr Adigars), as "*Mámaṇḍi*" (මාමණ්ඩි) "uncle."

### Names of Adigárs.

18. Ranpanhinda (Aṅgammana).
23. Ērawwáwela : beheaded by orders not of Mígastēnné, but of Piḷima Talawwé, 1798-99.
24. Piḷima Talawwé (senr) : beheaded by order of King, 1811-12.
27. Ēheḷépola : banished to Mauritius, 1825, and died there, April, 1829.
29. Dúllēwé : not the first created Siya Pattuwé Nilamé who was Mullégama.
40. Dúllēwé (W. A.) : a Proctor of the District Court of Kandy.

A Kobbēkaḍuwé was 2nd Adigár, 1828-35 (see under Diyawaḍana Nilamés.)

3. *Ibid*

4. *Ibid*, p 185.

## "SACCAKIRIYÁ."

By JOHN M. SENAVERATNA, F.R.H.S.

WHAT is meant by the Pali term "*Saccakiriya*" ? Childers<sup>1</sup> says it means "truth, act, asseveration." Hardy,<sup>2</sup> however, gives a fuller and better explanation. He explains a *saccakiriya* thus :

"A recitation is made of acts done either in this or in some former birth, and by the power of this merit, when the recitation is truthfully made, the effect intended to be produced takes place, however wonderful its character may be."

And Hardy goes on to illustrate the explanation by giving several instances, the first of which is that of an *upāsaka* in Ceylon, whose mother being ill he went to her and solemnly asseverated : "I have never knowingly taken the life of any creature whatever from my childhood until now," whereupon she instantly recovered.

Geiger<sup>3</sup> says : "The conception of the *saccakiriya* (lit. *effect of the truth*) is hardly to be rendered in a translation. Beside the declaration it includes a wish. The *saccakiriya* is always given in this form : *if or so truly as* such and such is the case, shall such and such a thing come to pass."

The *Jātakas* or "stories of the Buddha's former Births" afford perhaps the best illustrations of what is meant by a *saccakiriya* :

In the *Kanhadīpāyana Jātaka*,<sup>4</sup> a lad named Yañña-datta is bitten by a snake and his parents bring him to an ascetic to be healed. The ascetic, laying hands upon the head of the lad, performs a *saccakiriya* or Act of Truth thus :—

"Seven days serene in heart  
Pure I lived, desiring merit :  
Since then, for fifty years apart,  
Self-absorbed, I do declare it,  
Here, unwillingly I live :  
May this truth a blessing give :  
Poison baulked, the lad revive !"

The lad opens his eyes, being only partially cured. Thereupon both father and mother make each a *saccakiriya* and, we are told, "all the poison fell and sank into the ground," the lad rising perfectly hale.

In the *Suppāraka Jātaka* (No. 463), a ship is in imminent danger of being engulfed in the terrible Valabhāmukha<sup>5</sup> ocean. The skipper,<sup>6</sup> addressing the 700 terrified souls on board,

1. *Pali Dictionary*, q. v. 2. *Eastern Monachism*, 273.

3. *Mahāvamsa*, p 125, n 3.

4. No. 444 in the Cambridge Edition of *The Jātakas*. (Ed. Prof. E. B. Cowell) from which the translations given below have been quoted.

5. The Valabhāmukha Sea was a kind of hollow like a saucer. "Here the water is sucked away and rises on every side ; and the water thus sucked away on all sides rises in sheer precipices leaving what looks like a great pit. A wave rises on one side like a wall : a terrific roar is heard, which seems as it would burst the ear and break the heart."

6. He was the Boddhisatta in this birth.



says : " Friends, bathe me speedily in scented water, and put new garments upon me, prepare a full bowl, and set me in front of the ship." This is done and the skipper makes the following *saccakiriyá* :

" Since I can myself remember, since intelligence first grew,  
Not one life of living creature have I taken, that I knew :  
May this ship return to safety if my solemn words are true ! "

And the narrative declares that the vessel, " now as though endued with supernatural power, returned in one single day to the seaport town of Bharukaccha, and even upon the dry land it went, till it rested before the mariner's door."

In the *Mahá-Mora-Játaka* (No. 491), the Bódhisatta admonishes a converted fowler thus : " As you have broken the power of lust and penetrated the knowledge of a Pacceka Buddha, on that ground make an Act of Truth, and in all India there shall be no creature left in bonds." The fowler makes a *saccakiriyá* in this wise :

" All those my feathered fowl that I did bind,  
Hundreds and hundreds, in my house confined,  
Unto them all I give their life today,  
And freedom : let them homewards fly away."

And, it is recorded, " by his Act of Truth, though late, they were all set free from confinement, and twittering joyously went home to their own places. At the same moment throughout all India all creatures bound were set free, and not one was left in bondage, not so much as a cat."

In the *Sivi Játaka* (No. 499) the blind King Sivi regains his eyesight by two Acts of Truth :—

" Whatever sort, whatever kind of suitor shall draw near,  
Whoever comes to ask of me, he to my heart is dear :  
If these my solemn words be true, now let my eye appear ! "

Even as he uttered the words, we are told, one of his eyes grew up in the socket. And to restore the other he made another *saccakiriyá* thus :

" A brahmin came to visit me, one of my eyes to crave :  
Unto that brahmin mendicant the pair of them I gave.  
" A greater joy and more delight that action did afford.  
If these my solemn words be true, be the other eye restored ! "

" On the instant appeared his second eye," the story continues.

In the *Sambulá Játaka* (No. 519) Prince Sotthisena, a leper, leaves the kingdom and takes to the wilderness whither his beautiful and faithful wife Sambulá accompanies him. One day Sambulá unavoidably delays to return with fruits from the forest and Sotthisena doubts her constancy :

" Illustrious lady, why so late today ?  
What favoured lover led to this delay ? "

She protests her innocence, but her husband declares :

" You jades are ever by far too clever,  
Truth among such is a great rarity,  
Ways of the sex are enough to perplex,  
E'en as the course of a fish in the sea."

Then she replies : " My lord, though you do not believe me, by virtue of the truth I speak, I will heal you." So, filling a pot of water and performing a *saccakiriya*, Sambulá pours the water on his head and says :

" May Truth for aye my shelter be,  
As I love no man more than thee,  
And by this Act of Truth, I pray,  
May thy disease be healed today ! "

" No sooner was the water sprinkled over Sotthisena than the leprosy straightway left him, as it were copper rust washed in some acid," adds the narrative.

In the *Mahá-Sutasoma-Játaka* (No. 537) certain persons who have serious injuries on their hands are healed by a *saccakiriya*. Sutasoma (the Bodhisatta) gets some bark from a tree pounded, performs an Act of Truth, and rubs the pounded bark on the injured palms, and " at that very moment their wounds were healed."

In the *Mūga Pakkha-Játaka* (No. 538) Queen Candádevi, daughter of the King of the Maddas, is barren but longs for a child. So on the day of the full moon she takes upon herself the uposatha<sup>7</sup> vows and, while lying on a little bed, as she reflects on her virtuous life, she makes a *saccakiriya* in these terms : " If I have never broken the commandments, by the truth of this my protestation may a son be born to me." And the story goes on to relate how, " through the power of her piety," a son was born to her in due time.<sup>8</sup>

In the *Mahájunaka Játaka* (No. 539), Prince Polajanaka, unjustly suspected of treachery by his brother the King, is thrown into chains and imprisoned with a guard in a certain house. The Prince makes a *saccakiriya* : " If I am my brother's enemy, let not my chains be unloosed nor the door become opened ; but otherwise, may my chains be unloosed and the door become opened," and thereupon, the story says, " the chains broke into pieces and the door flew open."

In the *Sáma Játaka* (No. 540), Sáma, a hunter's son, is wounded by a poisoned arrow and lies at the point of death. To take the poison from him, his mother performs a solemn *saccakiriya* thus :—

" If it be true that in old days Sáma lived always virtuously,  
Then may this poison in his veins lose its fell force and harmless be.  
" If in old days he spoke the truth and nursed his parents night and day,  
Then may this poison in his veins be overpowered and ebb away.  
" Whatever merit we have gained in former days, his sire and I,  
May it o'erpower the poison's strength and may our darling son not die ! "

When his mother has thus made the solemn asseveration, (continues the narrative), Sáma turned as he lay there. Then his father also made his solemn asseveration in the same words ; and while he was still speaking, Sáma turned round and lay on the other side. His complete re-

7. The *Uposatha* day is a day of religious observance and celebration for laymen and priests, and answers as nearly as possible to our Sunday. It occurs four times in the month, viz on the day of full moon, on the day when there is no moon, and on the two days which are eighth from the full and new moon : it is therefore a weekly festival. On *uposatha* days laymen dress in their best clothes, and such of them as are religiously disposed abstain from trade and worldly amusements, and take upon themselves the *uposatha* vows, that is to say, go to a priest and make him their witness of their intention to keep the eight *Silas* during the day. The eight *Silas* are (1) prohibiting the destruction of life, (2) theft, (3) impurity, (4) lying, (5) use of intoxicating liquors, (6) eating at forbidden hours, (7) attending worldly amusements, and (8) use of unguents and ornaments.

8. In the Introduction to the *Mahá-Sutasoma-Játaka* (No. 537), reference is made to a *Saccakiriya* by the elder Angulimāla whereby he saved the life of a woman having a difficult delivery.

covery is then brought about by a goddess of the Gandhamádana mountain, who had been a mother to Sâma in his seventh existence before this one and who also now performs a *saccakiriyá* :

- “ The goddess hidden out of sight upon the Gandhamádan mount  
 Performed a solemn Act of Truth, by pity moved on Sâma's count :  
 ‘ Here in this Gandhamádan mount long have I passed my life alone,  
 In forest depths where every tree beareth a perfume of its own.  
 ‘ And none of earth's inhabitants is dearer to my inmost heart,—  
 As this is true so from his veins may all the poison's power depart.’  
 “ While thus in turn by pity moved they all their solemn witness bore,  
 Lo in their sight up Sâma sprang, young, fair, and vigorous as before.”

#### Examples from the “ Mahávamsa.”

Further similar illustrations may be quoted from the *Játakas*,<sup>9</sup> but it seems unnecessary. The *Mahávamsa*, however, gives a few interesting examples and these are enumerated below :

In connection with the collar-bone relic of the Buddha, King Devánampiyatissa makes the following *saccakiriyá* :—

“ If this is a relic of the Sage then shall my parasol bow down, of itself, my elephant shall sink upon its knees, this relic-urn, coming toward me with the relic shall descend upon my head,”

“ So thought the king, and as he thought so it came to pass,” says the *Mahávamsa* (XVII. 25-26),

Again, King Asoka of India makes a *saccakiriyá* on the occasion of the despatch of the great Bodhi tree to Ceylon. We are told that, in order to receive the sacred branch, he mounted upon a seat inlaid with gold, and, grasping a pencil of red arsenic with a golden handle, drew with this a line about the bough, uttering the following solemn declaration :

“ So truly as the great Bodhi-tree shall go hence to the isle of Lanká, and so truly as I shall stand unalterably firm in the doctrine of the Buddha, shall this fair south branch of the great Bodhi-tree, severed of itself, take its place here in this golden vase.”

Then (continues the narrative) the great Bodhi-tree severed, of itself, at the place where the line was, floating above the vase filled with fragrant earth (*Mahávamsa*, XVIII, 40-42.)

Duṭṭhagámani, in the course of his subjugation of the Tamils, makes a *saccakiriyá* upon the field of battle : When the monarch heard that it was said, “ Not knowing their own army, they slay their own people.” he made this solemn declaration :

“ Not for the joy of sovereignty is this toil of mine, my striving has been ever to establish the doctrine of the Sambuddha. And even as this is truth, may the armour on the body of my soldiers take the colour of fire.”

“ And now it came to pass even thus,” solemnly records the *Mahávamsa* (XXV. 16-18).

Duṭṭhagámani performs another *saccakiriyá* at the enshrining of the relics in what was then, and is still today, known as the Ruvanveli-séya. Washing his hands in water fragrant with perfumes and rubbing them with the five kinds of perfumes, he opens the relic-casket, and, taking out the relics, the King thinks thus :

9. See, for instance, the *Jeyaddisa-Játaka* (No. 513) where a *saccakiriyá* is performed on behalf of a Prince by his father, mother, sister and wife.

"If these relics shall abide undisturbed by any man soever, and if the relics, serving as a refuge for the people, shall endure continually, then may they rest, in the form of the master as he lay upon his death-bed, upon this well-ordered and precious couch!"

Adds the *Mahāvamsa*: "Thinking thus he laid the relics upon the splendid couch: the relics lay there upon the splendid couch even in such a shape" (XXXI. 106-108).

Then, again, we have three other instances in the *Mahāvamsa* each of which, though not expressly designated as such, may still be said to partake of the nature of a *saccakiriyá*:

(a) Rain falls at an unwonted season and causes trouble. King Elára undergoes a fast, thinking: "*A king who observes justice surely obtains rain in due season.*" Thenceforth the heavens rain no more during the day throughout his realm; only by night do the heavens give rain once every week, in the middle watch of the night. (*Mah.* XXI. 28-33).

(b) King Sirisamghabodhi, hearing that the people of the Island were come to want by reason of a drought, is filled with pity and lies down on the ground in the courtyard of the great Thúpa, forming the resolve: "*Unless I be raised up by the water that the god shall rain down I will never more rise up from hence, even though I die here.*" As he lies there, the god pours down rain forthwith on the whole Island of Lanka, reviving the wide earth, and in this way he averts the fear of a famine in the Island. (*Mah.* XXXVI. 74-79).

(c) A Yakkha known as Ratakkhi<sup>10</sup> makes red the eyes of the people and devours large numbers of them. The same King Sirisamghabodhi, learning of the people's distress, lies down with sorrowful heart alone in the chamber of fasting, keeping the eight *uposatha* vows, and says: "*Till I have seen the yakkha I will not rise up.*" By the magic power of the King's piety, the Yakkha comes to him and is subdued and so the fear of pestilence is brought to an end (*Mah.* XXXVI. 82-90).

In the light of what has been detailed above, Hardy's definition of a *saccakiriyá* needs revision, or rather amplification. The asseveration, or "recitation" as Hardy calls it, is obviously not restricted to "acts done either in this or some former birth," but sometimes, as in the case of two at least of the illustrations above from the *Mahāvamsa*, has reference to a contingency coming true or an event occurring at some future time, period or birth, as the case may be.

A noteworthy fact in connection with every *saccakiriyá* referred to above or known to me (with one solitary exception) is that the *wish* following the asseveration is always good or praiseworthy, noble or pious. The "solitary exception" I have come across in Buddhist literature is in the nature of a malediction and, curiously enough, is paralleled by the solitary example of a *saccakiriyá* I have met with in Christian literature. Here are the two which, in unholy spirit, bear a striking resemblance to each other:—

In the *Pandara-Jātaka* (No. 518) an ascetic proves treacherous to a snake-king who had trusted him. Accordingly the snake-king, in order to punish the other, performs a *saccakiriyá* thus:

"Informer, traitor, that wouldst slay  
A guileless friend, be thy head riven  
By this my Act of Truth, I pray,  
Piecemeal, all into fragments seven!"

Then before the very eyes of the snake-king, (so the story goes), the head of the ascetic was split into seven pieces, and at the very spot where he was sitting the ground was cleft asunder.

And the Christian *saccakiriyá* occurs at 2 Kings I. 10:—

"And Elijah answered and said to the Captain of fifty: '*If I be a man of God, then let fire come down from heaven, and consume thee and thy fifty.*' And there came down fire from heaven, and consumed him and his fifty."

Can any reader of the *Ceylon Antiquary* point out any other *saccakiriyá* in Christian literature?

10. That is, "Red-eye." Geiger suggests it was scarlatina. The *Attanagālavamsa*, which relates this episode in Chap VI (Ed. Alwis, p16 foll), speaks of a fever (*Jara-oga*) beginning with inflammation of the eyes.

## Literary Register.

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### SOME SINHALESE FOLKLORE STORIES.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired).

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**T**HE following were told me in the Southern Province, 1897-1900.—

#### (1) A Journey to Heaven.

An elephant from heaven used to enter a *gamarála's* sweet-potato garden and destroy the crop. One day the *gamarála* (like an unfortunate keeper did with Beligammana at the kraal of August, 1920), caught it by the tail and held on to it, with the result that the elephant took him up in this way to heaven. He returned in the same way and informed his wife (*mahage*) where he had been, and how. She suggested that it would be a good thing if they could both go to heaven in this way. When the dhoby brought back the wash she told him all about it, and he wanted to go too. He told all the people for whom he washed and they wanted to go too. All these determined that they would pay a visit to heaven by this means—in fact the whole village was bent on going. All assembled, waiting for the elephant's return in order that he might take them. The *gamarála* held on to the elephant's tail; his wife held on to him, and so on.

When they got near heaven, the *gamarála's* wife asked him whether the gate of heaven was large enough to admit them all. He let go his hold in order to demonstrate with his hands how wide the gate was, and he and the whole tail (or tale) of villagers fell to the earth and were killed. And here ends the tale.

#### (2) The Thief-catcher and the Forty Thieves.

One day a man saw a crab digging a hole and then walking away from it and returning to it. When he had gone through these three actions the crab remarked to himself,—

“*Háranná bola háranná*  
*Duvanná bola duvanná*  
*Hitinná bola hitinná,*”

which I suppose may be freely translated :

“Dig, my friend, dig,  
 Run, my friend, run,  
 Wait, my friend, wait.”

The man determined to use these words as if they were a charm. Later he stole a donkey and hid it in the jungle. He then announced that he was prepared to discover stolen property and the thieves who had stolen it. The owner of the donkey applied to him in due

course to find his donkey. He undertook the job, and as a necessary preliminary to impress the owner, went through the operation of burning some substance or other and muttering the charm. He then told the owner "you will find the donkey at such and such a place," and of course he found it there. On this account the man acquired a reputation as a discoverer of stolen property.

Now there happened to occur a burglary at the palace and some treasure stolen, and the king had it published by beat of tom-tom that, if anyone could find the treasure and discover who the thieves were, he would be richly rewarded, but that the penalty of failure would be death. The wife of the famous thief-catcher told the tom-tom beater that her husband was the man to perform this task successfully. In consequence her husband was taken before the king who ordered him to undertake it. He asked for a period of forty days in which to accomplish it, and this was allowed him. He felt that it was all up with him as failure was certain, and so he provided himself with 40 stones, to mark each day as it passed with a stone—a black and not a white stone it should have been.

On the first day the captain of the robbers who had heard that he was employed on this task set one of his men to watch his proceedings. This man hearing him say at the end of the day "There is one," as he handled the stone, jumped to the conclusion that he had discovered one of the thieves, viz. himself, and so reported to his captain. Next day the captain sent two men to watch. They heard the thief-catcher, at the end of the day, say to himself counting two stones, "There are two," and thought that he had discovered two of the thieves. So it went on from day to day until on the last day the whole of the forty thieves were present, and in due course they heard the exclamation "There are the forty." So they confessed their guilt to him, and he remarked: "I knew all along that you were guilty, but as you have confessed I will intercede for you with the king." The king duly rewarded him but punished the thieves.

The thief-catcher then told his wife that from that day he intended to give up that occupation, as he feared next time he would not be successful. She, however, replied: "But we must live; if you give up the profession I shall have to take to it, and you had better teach me how to carry on." Accordingly he began by repeating to her the words of the charm sentence by sentence and over and over again.—Just then the thieves, whom he had denounced to the king and who had a grudge against him in consequence, were engaged in digging a hole so as to break into his house. Hearing the first line which seemed unmistakably to refer to what they were doing, they ran away, and, as they did so, heard the second line which as undoubtedly described that action. Thereupon they stopped and hid themselves, and then came the third line just as *à propos* as the other two. This was the climax; they fled and left him and his house undisturbed from that day forth.

[It is curious that the number of the thieves should be 40; one suspects that the story of Ali Baba and the 40 thieves was not unknown among Sinhalese villagers. One is struck with the want of imagination shown by the thieves and their captain—or perhaps they had too much of it.]

### 3. Two Waylarers and a Leopard—Turning the Tables.

A countryman took shelter in an *ambalama*. A leopard had anticipated him but remained without the railings. The man caught it by the tail and held on to it for some time. Then there arrived another traveller who had a *katti*, and the first man appealed to him to kill the leopard. But the new-comer having looked at the leopard hesitated and then said he could not do it as the animal reminded him of his grandfather. The other therefore suggested

that he should give him the *katti*, and hold the leopard's tail while the former killed the leopard. The second man agreed to this, handed over the *katti* and caught hold of the leopard's tail. Whereupon the first man decamped calling out to the second : "*Muttat badágana ohe hiṭa-pan*" : "Stay there you, hugging your grandfather." [Is there not a similar story in the *Kata-sintamani* or the *Katamancheri* ?]

#### 4. The Leopard and the Jackal.

A leopard come across a calf and was going to eat it, but a jackal advised him to put it into a *koṭuva* (enclosure) and keep it there until it had grown up, as it would then give him a much better meal. The leopard took the advice, but the calf grew into a bull of such a size that the leopard felt unable to tackle it. The jackal was again consulted and recommended that a rope should be tied to the bull and passed round the leopard's middle. This was done, whereupon the bull dragged the leopard all over the country until it died. Then the jackal feasted on the leopard.

#### 5. Folklore of the Leopard.

The leopard in fact does not seem to get credit for much in the way of brains. The Sinhalese say that the cat is the master of the leopard, for it taught the leopard how to climb trees, but not how to climb down. Hence the leopard bears ill-will towards the cat. There is a similar story in the Madras Presidency respecting the tiger and the cat. They became great friends but eventually quarrelled. The tiger attempted to kill the cat who climbed a tree and escaped as the tiger could not do this. The tiger therefore waited for the cat to come down and was killed by a sportsman. But the story ought to be that the tiger climbed the tree after the cat ; that the cat got down but the tiger could not, and was consequently trapped or shot by the sportsman. (*See Indian Notes and Queries.*)

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## THE COURTESAN'S STORY.<sup>1</sup>

By MR. C. A. KINCAID, C.V.O., I.C.S.

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IT was almost a year to a day after my meeting with my friend the anchorite, that I again found myself in the rest-house at Pandharpur. I had finished the work for which I had come and I was lying in a long chair in the verandah, drinking a whisky and soda. Just then my butler came up with the news that a woman wished to see me. "What on earth does she want ?" I asked, as the sun was setting and I could not imagine what business a woman could have with me at that hour of the day. "I asked her," replied my servant, "but all I could get out of her was, that she had heard the Sahib liked stories and that she had one to tell him." "O, if she has a story to tell," I said, "let her in. It will pass the time before dinner." The butler salaamed, went out and in a few moments brought back with him a pretty girl, who salaamed to me with a careless movement of the right hand. She was dressed in a pretty silk *sári*, she wore a heavy pearl nose-ring supported by a wisp of hair. She had silver bangles and anklets and gold rings and toe-rings. Her eyes were darkened with *kanjal* (a preparation of lampblack), and all her person gave out a scent of attar and sandalwood oil. She

1. *Hindustan Review*, Jan.-Feb., 1921.

walked with a swinging motion of her heavy hips and with her toes turned inwards. Her gaze had none of the timid bashfulness that distinguishes the Indian lady from her English sister. A glance at her was enough to tell me that my lady visitor was a priestess of Aphrodite.

"Well, Bai Sahib," I said with a smile, "what can I do for you? I am afraid I am too old for one so young and beautiful as yourself."

"The Sahib is too kind," she answered with a languishing look, "the Sahib seems dull, shall I tell him a story?"

"Please do," I said, "tell me the story of yourself and I fancy it will be as interesting as any Puranic legend."

"Very well, Sahib," said the girl, "I will, and I think it will prove not uninteresting. My name is Saraswati. I came from Bombay originally and I was a pupil of the famous Kitty Jan."

"Kitty Jan?," I asked, "who was she?"

"The Sahib cannot in his youth have spent much time in Bombay or he would certainly have known Kitty Jan," retorted my visitor. "She was the reigning beauty there twenty years ago. She was half English, so she said, her father being a high English official, and she sang divinely both English and Indian songs."

I still had to plead ignorance of this paragon of seduction.

"Well, it is not of much consequence, Sahib. I do not remember my parents. They were Bhattias, so Kitty Jan said, and one of her agents stole me when only two years old at a railway station. The agent took me down to Bombay and Kitty Jan took charge of me. She was very kind to me and she tried hard to make me sing like herself. But I had no music in my head and I could not learn although I tried as hard to learn, as she to teach me. When I was twelve, Kitty Jan sold my innocence to a rich young Hindu of Bandra for several thousand rupees. That was one of the ways she made her money. Thereafter I lived with her and followed her trade. But although I was twenty years younger than she was, the visitors at her house always preferred her to me. She was so fair and had seen so much and she could sing like a gandharva.<sup>2</sup> Nor was she lacking in wit. Woe betide the youth who tried to make fun of her! She soon had him blushing to his eartips, while the whole room rocked with laughter.

"When I was sixteen Kitty Jan moved from Bombay to Haidarabad in the Deccan. She said that the air of Bombay no longer suited her. Perhaps also she wished to try her charms on a new set of clients. Anyway, she was soon as great a success in Haidarabad as in Bombay, and all the young Moghul nobles raved about her eyes, her fair complexion and her saucy wit. One day there came to her house a young Musulman. He was a trooper in the Bombay lancers and his name was Farid Khan. He had been drawn to the house by the fame of Kitty Jan, but when he came his eyes turned to me. He was the first visitor who had ever preferred my looks to those of Kitty Jan and I felt ever so grateful to him for it. Nor did Kitty Jan mind. She merely laughed and called us by the names of various famous lovers, Rama and Sita, Majnun and Lai'a, Romeo and Juliet, and I know not what else.

"There was one dark spot in our sky. Farid Khan's leave was quickly nearing its end and he was due to return to Poona where his regiment was stationed. He wanted to marry me and take me with him. But Kitty Jan would not let me go, unless he paid her Rs. 2,000. Of course a lancer like Farid Khan had not even Rs. 200. So we resolved to seize the first chance

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2. The Hindu cherubim.



that came and run away together. But that was not easy. Kitty Jan guessed what we intended and kept me shut up in my house with one of her men-friends to watch me. Whenever I tried to go out as if on an innocent walk, Kitty Jan always knew of it and had me brought back.

"At last the chance Farid Khan and I were longing for came. The river at Haidarabad rose higher than it had ever risen before. The water swept round our house! Other houses all round were crumbling to nothing and Kitty Jan saw that unless we at once left, we should all be drowned, as indeed many of our neighbours had been. I and Kitty Jan and one or two other girls, whom she had in the same way bought or stolen for her trade, went out of the house together; but at the first corner I slipped away and ran as hard as I could to Farid Khan's house. By a lucky chance he was in. I told him how I had run away and he was delighted at my wit and courage. That evening he took me by train to Poona and I lived in the lancer lines with him as his wife.

"After a time he found the cost of keeping me on his slender pay too heavy; for how could I, used as I was to the luxury of Kitty Jan's house, be content to live on his beggarly Rs. 10 or Rs. 12 a month. So we left the lines and went to live with another lancer, Buland Khan, who had a house in the city. He had a rich father who made him an allowance. So we went to live with him and even as Draupadi<sup>3</sup> did," here the naughty little wretch's eyes twinkled gaily. "I managed to be a faithful wife to more than one husband. After a time, however, Buland Khan's money also gave out. His father married a second time and turned a deaf ear to all his son's prayers for money. He sent him just Rs. 20 every month.

"But what were Rs. 20 a month to me who wanted jewels and silk dresses, such as I had worn with Kitty Jan? At last my two husbands were in despair. We were only half way through the month and neither Farid Khan nor Buland Khan had a pice between them. What was worse was that our credit was exhausted. No one would sell us a thing save for ready money and we had none.

"You must get some money or I shall leave you," I said to Farid Khan.

"Where can I get it?" he retorted sulkily.

"That is known only to God," I said. "But there is a milk-woman who used to bring us milk. She always wears a string of gold sequins and other ornaments round her neck. Why not get the money from her?"

"You little fool," snarled back Farid Khan. "She will not let us have any more milk on credit; is she likely to lend us money?"

"Man with a buffalo's understanding," I answered. "Are borrowing and lending the only ways by which money changes hands?"

"What do you mean?" said Farid Khan, but his face grew pale and I knew that he had guessed my meaning.

"Now, Sahib, I never meant that Farid Khan and Buland Khan should kill the poor old milk woman. My idea was that they should jump out of some dark corner and, pretending they were robbers, snatch away her jewellery. Nor would there have been any great harm in this, for of what manner of use was the sequin necklace to an ugly old *gavli*<sup>4</sup> woman. Indeed it only drew attention to her ugliness, whereas round my neck it would have enhanced my beauty. I explained this that evening to the two lancers; and for several days afterwards they watched in dark lanes to try and catch the old *gavli* woman.

3. Draupadi was the common wife of the five Pandavas, the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*.

4. Gavli is the cowherd caste.

"But she was no fool, that old milk seller. She always plied her trade by day and she avoided dark lanes and gullies. If any one asked her for milk, she bade him bring his 'lota' and get it filled in the main road. Thus things grew worse and worse. We only lived at all by pawning one of my gold toe-rings. But when I gave it to Farid Khan, I warned him that I should leave him before the week was out, unless he gave it back to me together with a money present by way of interest. Farid Khan's wits were sharpened by the fear of losing me, so he went the same day to the *gavli* woman and told her that he had come by some money and would pay her bill, if she went back with him to his house. In this way he baited the trap for her and the miserly old thing was caught in it.

"She came back with him to our house and came inside. Directly she did so, Buland Khan shut the door behind her and Farid Khan flung her on the ground. She had been too astonished to do anything until she felt her necklace go from off her neck and then she fought like a fiend. She screamed, she kicked, she bit and made such a fearful uproar that the two men had to tie her *sári* round her head and neck, while they took the rest of her ornaments and her purse. When they had taken all she had they undid her *sári* and would have let her go. But she was dead. Whether they had tied her *sári* too tight round her neck and had strangled her or whether the loss of her money and jewellery had broken her heart, I do not know. But she was stone dead, there was no doubt of it; and the next question was what we should do with the old wretch's body. The men asked me. But I would not help them, as I did not wish to be mixed up in the murder.

"You killed her," I said. "You must hide her body or the Sarkar will hang you."

"At last they got angry with me and dragging the old woman into an inner room, covered it with a sheet. Then they went out and did not return until late at night. They brought back with them a wooden box. They made me help them tie the dead body as tightly as possible in the sheet. They next stuffed the body into the wooden box and went out again. Farid Khan carried the box and Buland Khan carried his bedding and a bundle of pots to make it look as if they were travellers. I learnt afterwards that they threw the box and its contents into a well two or three miles away. I slept until six next morning, when Farid Khan woke me up and told me that I must go to Bombay. I at first refused. But Farid Khan had, it would seem, lost all his love for me. He looked at me as if he would kill me.

"You have made me a murderer, you vile woman!" he said, "I shall not let you stay here and betray us."

"Buland Khan added some words of the same sort and I was so frightened that I agreed to do whatever the two men told me. They took me to the railway station, and Farid Khan went with me to Bombay. There he took me to a house kept by a miserly old Ben Israel woman and told me to stay there until he came to fetch me. As he gave the old Ben Israel woman only two rupees, it was not long before she drove me out of the house. I was very angry at the way I had been treated and I also heard a rumour that the police had found the box with the dead woman's body inside it in the well and were looking for me. I sold my remaining jewellery and went by train to Surat. I lived there for some weeks, until one day I heard a footstep on the staircase and a loud knock at my door.

"My blood turned to ice. I opened the door and there in front of me stood two Poona policemen. They had found me out and they questioned me and cross-questioned me until I told them everything. Nor to tell the truth was I really loth to do so, as I was burning with rage against Farid Khan and Buland Khan for the way they had turned me out and had kept for themselves the *gavli* woman's ornaments.

"After taking down my story in writing, the two policemen took me to a Magistrate, where I repeated it and the same evening I was taken to Poona. There I gave evidence before the Judge Sahib and in the dock were Farid Khan and Buland Khan. They scowled at me in order to frighten me, I suppose. But I was not afraid of them and I told the Judge Sahib the truth. One must tell the truth, Sahib, is that not so, when one takes an oath in the Sarkar's court?"

"Yes, indeed that is so," I assented, wondering how much truth the young lady would have told, had she not been anxious to square accounts with her former lovers. "But how did the police come to know that Farid Khan and Buland Khan were the murderers?"

"Well, Sahib, it was really not very hard. The *gavli* woman had been seen going with Farid Khan, just before she disappeared. The next day I, Farid Khan and Buland Khan vanished, leaving the door of the house locked from the outside. Then the police, on hearing that the *gavli* woman was missing, sent divers down the wells round Poona and found the box with the body inside it. The box had the shopkeeper's name on it and he told the police that a man in a lancer's uniform had bought it. Then the two young fools getting frightened sent the *gavli* woman's jewellery by registered post to Haidarabad and the postal officers, having been warned, found the parcel and handed it over to the police. On these facts the police arrested Farid Khan and Buland Khan and learnt from them that I had gone to a Ben Israel woman in Bombay. From her they learnt that I had left Bombay. They made enquiries for me in the Deccan and then in Guzrat. In the end they found me in Surat."

"Well, what happened to Farid Khan and Buland Khan?" I asked, as I had got quite interested in the fate of the two young ruffians.

"The Judge convicted them," replied Sarswati, "but he did not hang them as he should have done. He sentenced them to the Black Water (Transportation) for life."

"Oh well," I said, "they were quite young, were they not?"

"They were young in years," replied Sarswati severely. "Farid Khan was 20 and Buland Khan 21. But they were old in wickedness, or they would not have treated me as they did and the Judge Sahib should have hanged them."

Then giving me her sweet seductive look and coquettishly drawing her *sâri* across her face, she asked me in a way that left no doubt as to her meaning:

"Now that I have told the Sahib my story, does he want nothing more from me?"

As she spoke she poked at a pebble with the big toe of the right foot.

"Nay, Bai Shib," I answered with a laugh, "I have work to do, and you really must excuse me."

"The Sahib is as virtuous as Bhishma,"<sup>4</sup> said Sarswati with a slight sneer.

"And the Bai Shib," I retorted, "is as virtuous as Draupadi."<sup>5</sup>

The sneer on my visitor's face changed into so deep a scowl, that not wishing to incur the little fiend's vindictive enmity, I at once said soothingly:

"Nay, Bai Sahib, be not angry, even the virtuous Bhishma would have felt your beauty, and, if he might not love you, he would at least have paid it tribute."

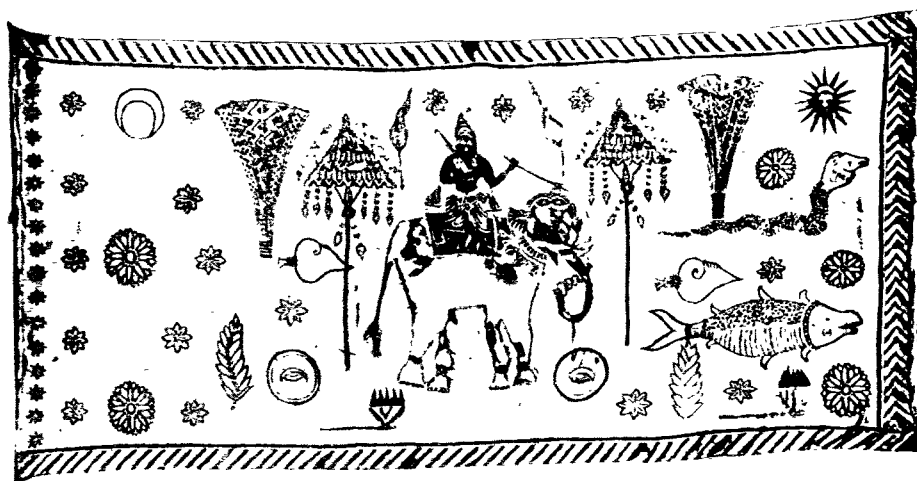
As I spoke I put two ten rupee notes into her hand and said: "One is for the story, Bai Sahib, and the other for your pretty face."

Sarswati's anger went as quickly as it had come. She salaamed as before and turned to go. I watched her as she went down the drive, swinging her heavy hips in a wide circle. As she was about to turn the corner, she looked back and called mockingly: "May Shri Krishna of Pandharpur, Sahib, bestow on you second youth."

Before I could think of a retort, she had gone for ever. But the scent of her attar and sandalwood oil haunted the verandah for a full hour afterwards.

3. Draupadi was the common wife of the five Pandavas, the heroes of the *Mahabharata*.

5. One of the heroes of the *Mahabharata*. He took a vow of perpetual chastity.



THE KARÁVE FLAG.



# THE CEYLON ANTIQUARY AND LITERARY REGISTER.

## INDEX TO VOLUME VII.

A.	PAGE	C	PAGE
Abhidhānappadīpikā, The ..	90ff	Caetano, Rev. Fr. ..	116
Academy at Wolfendahl ..	141	Carias, The ..	10
Adhi-arasa-adappan ..	2	Cassimir, Rev. Fr. ..	116
Adigar ..	70	Castes, Dhoby and Koviari ..	12
Adigar, First ..	6	Castes in North Ceylon ..	12
Adigars, List of ..	185, 6, 238	Castes of Moormen, &c. ..	206
Akurana, Tradition about ..	187	Catholic Bishop of Ceylon, First ..	115, 116
Alavattam ..	6	Cesati, V. ..	233
Aludeniya Vihāre ..	110	Ceylon, Books on ..	48-57, 122-126
Alutnuvara ..	2	Ceylon, Early History of Botanic Gardens in ..	63-73
Ambane ..	20	Ceylon, First Catholic Bishop of ..	115, 116
Ambatalawa, Tradition about ..	187	Ceylon, First English School in ..	141-147
Ambuluwawa ..	207	Ceylon in Dutch Times, Glimpses of ..	42, 43
Amir Abd-el-Cader ..	4	Ceylon, Some ancient Plants and Trees of ..	23-37, 90-104
Ancient Plants and Trees of Ceylon, Some ..	23-37, 90-104	Ceylon, Superstition in ..	150-154
Ancient Ruins at Kubukkandana ..	43	Chair, Coronation ..	220ff
Ancient Sinhalese Heraldry ..	4, 8	Chāmara, The ..	4
Andagala Oya ..	188	Champion, Capt. ..	47, 234
Anderado Families ..	11	Chank at Coronation Ceremony ..	220ff
Andrews, Robert ..	44	Chank, The ..	5
Andurubebila ..	209	Chavakachcheri, Ruins in ..	118, 119
Anthonsiz, R. G. ..	42	Chetty Caste People ..	12
Antiquities in the Southern Province ..	38-41	Chilaw ..	6, 10
Antonio, Dr. Cajetano ..	116	Cholans, The ..	4
Anuradhapura ..	1	Chundi Muttu, The ..	15
Arattana Vihāre ..	110	Clement, H. Don ..	232
Arawwāwala Mosque ..	111	Clifford, Lord ..	115, 116
Arsa- Nilaitte Mudali ..	2	Cobra ..	7
Aryan Languages, Sinhalese and the ..	105-107, 137-140, 226-229	Cobra Lore ..	183, 184, 238
Atirahapitiya ..	188	Codrington, H. W. ..	17, 19, 21, 185
Ayrton, Diary of the late Mr. E. R. ..	38-41	Conch-Shell, The ..	5
<b>B</b>		Cordiner, Rev. James ..	141ff
Bains, Dr. ..	115, 116	Coronation of Sinhalese Kings ..	220-225
Baldaeus ..	10	Courtesan's Story, The ..	246-250
Banks, Sir Joseph ..	63ff	Cremation, Custom at ..	16
Barbosa ..	5, 6	Cults of the Jaffna District, Popular ..	12-16, 148, 149
Barnes, Sir Edward ..	68	Curious Papers ..	44
Barradas, Father ..	5, 7, 11	Custom at Cremation ..	16
Barretto, Antonio ..	3	Customs, Moorish ..	111, 112
Beccari, O ..	233	Customs, Two Coronation ..	220-225
Beliefs among the Sinhalese, Some ..	150-154	<b>D</b>	
Bell, H. C. P. ..	2, 10, 44	Daladā Māhāgāwa Nilames, List of ..	183, 237, 238
Bellingham, Capt. George ..	45	Dalzell, Lt. John ..	46
Bembiya ..	205	D'Anderado, Manoel ..	10
Benedictory verses in Sinhalese ..	151ff	David, Lt. Henry ..	46
Bhuvaneka Bāhu IV, King ..	110	De Barros ..	7
Bishop of Ceylon, First Catholic ..	115, 116	De Couto ..	8
Bisset, Rev. George ..	182	De Fonseka, Lionel ..	1
Blake, Arthur Garland ..	121	Degaldoruwa ..	188
Bodhigama ..	20	Degraded Villages, Some ..	191, 192, 209
Bo-gaha, Divurum ..	190	Dehupāgana Gēttaru ..	209
Books on Ceylon ..	48-57, 122-126	De Queyroz ..	3, 10, 11
Botanic Gardens in Ceylon, Early History of ..	63-73	De Rosario, Rev. Fr. Vincente ..	116
Boyd, Hugh ..	44	Devānampiya Tissa, King ..	4, 8, 9
Bradley, Lt. G. ..	45	Devundara ..	2
Brazen Palace, Ivory Throne in ..	1, 5	Dharma Kirti ..	10
British Times, Early ..	121, 122, 141-147, 185	Dharma Parākrama Bāhu, King ..	5
Brodie, A. O. ..	114, 115	Dhoby Caste People ..	12
Brookesbank, Second-Lieut. John ..	45	Dimbula Vihāre ..	109
Buddhagama ..	19ff	Divurum Bo-gaha ..	190
Buddhagaya ..	5, 8	Diyakelānāvala Vihāre ..	108, 109
		Diyawadana Nilames, List of ..	183, 237, 238

	PAGE		PAGE
Dodanwala Devāle Relics .. .. .	206, 207	Hardy, Col. Henry .. .. .	206
Dodanwala Maha Devāle .. .. .	188	Harispattu .. .. .	190
Don Clement, H. .. .. .	232	Hegel's Philosophy of Religion .. .. .	74-89, 164-168
Duff, Lt. James .. .. .	46	Hénakanda Bisō Bandāra .. .. .	207, 208
Dutch Times, Glimpses of Ceylon in .. .. .	42, 43	Heraldry, Ancient Sinhalese .. .. .	4, 8
Dutugemunu, King .. .. .	3, 4, 109	Heṭṭiarachchi, D. P. E. .. .. .	48, 114
<b>E.</b>		Hewakodikāraḡe Families .. .. .	10
Early British Times .. 121, 122, 141, 147, 185		Hindagala Vihāre .. .. .	110
Ehelepola .. .. .	4, 66, 181	Hiridevata-kanda .. .. .	19
Eladetta Mosque .. .. .	111	Historic Memories .. .. .	112
Elliott, Edward .. .. .	114	Historical Notes, Some .. .. .	237, 238
English School in Ceylon, First .. .. .	141-147	History of Botanic Gardens in Ceylon, Early .. .. .	63-73
Evil Eye, mouth and breath .. .. .	150ff	History of India, Some Portuguese MSS for the .. .. .	235-237
Evart, Lt.-Gen. Sir Spencer .. .. .	42	Horton, Sir Robert Wilmot .. .. .	115, 116
<b>F.</b>		Hosten, Rev. Fr. H. .. .. .	235
Fans .. .. .	7	<b>I.</b>	
Fashions in Hair .. .. .	15	India, Some Portuguese MSS for the History of .. .. .	235, 237
Fell, Lt. James .. .. .	46	Inguruwatta Vihāra .. .. .	110
Ferrar, Major M. L. .. .. .	45	Inscriptions .. .. .	1, 4
Fig-Wood Coronation Chair .. .. .	220ff	Ira-handa Kōḍiya .. .. .	1
Fish .. .. .	7, 8	Ivory Throne in Brazen Palace .. .. .	1-5
Flags .. .. .	1-11	<b>J.</b>	
Flag, Karāve .. .. .	1-11	Jaffna .. .. .	10
Flag, Makara .. .. .	1	Jaffna, Crown Prince of .. .. .	7
Flag, Rāvanā .. .. .	1	Jaffna, King Sankili of .. .. .	10
Flag, Sun and Moon .. .. .	1	Jaffna, Some Ruins in .. .. .	118-120
Flowers, Sun .. .. .	8	Jaffna District Popular Cults of the .. .. .	12-16, 148-149
Fly-whisk, The .. .. .	4	Janapada .. .. .	20
Folk-Etymology .. .. .	206	Janavansa, The .. .. .	8, 9
Folklore .. .. .	15, 120	Jaya Bāhu, King .. .. .	17
Folklore Stories, Some Sinhalese .. .. .	244-246	Johnston, Sir Alexander .. .. .	64, 115
Fonseka Families .. .. .	11	<b>K</b>	
Four Kōrales .. .. .	2, 5	Kadampot .. .. .	2
Fraser, Thomas .. .. .	122	Kahatapitiya Mosque .. .. .	111
<b>G</b>		Kalutara .. .. .	10, 63ff
Gahagan, Frederick .. .. .	121	Kanchipura .. .. .	2, 6
Gaja Bāhu, King .. .. .	2, 20ff	Kandy, Old Palace at .. .. .	1
Galagama .. .. .	188	Kandyan Notes .. .. .	108-113, 205-209
Galgoda Vihāre .. .. .	40	Kandyan Pensioners, The .. .. .	58-62, 127-135
Gampola Rāja Ela .. .. .	189	Kandyan Traditions .. .. .	187-192, 205
Ganegoda Vihāre .. .. .	110	Kantawala, M. H. .. .. .	105, 137, 226
Gardens at Kalutara and Peradeniya, Botanic .. .. .	63-73	Karāve Flag, The .. .. .	1-11
Gelman, Dr. Henry Snyder .. .. .	155, 193	Kaveri-Pattanam .. .. .	2, 6
Geli-oya .. .. .	206	Keppetipola, T. B. .. .. .	183, 185
Geṭṭaru, Dehipāgana .. .. .	209	Keppetipola the Rebel .. .. .	44
Giribandu Vihāre .. .. .	40	Kerr, W. .. .. .	63ff
Giriulla Vihāre .. .. .	110	Kilikare .. .. .	2, 6
Glimpses of Ceylon in Dutch Times .. .. .	42, 43	Kincaid, C. A. .. .. .	246
Gnana Prakasar, Rev. Fr. S .. .. .	118, 148	King Abd-el-Cader .. .. .	4
Godapola .. .. .	189	„ Bhuvaneka Bāhu IV. .. .. .	110
Granville, William .. .. .	18, 180ff	„ Devānampiya Tissa .. .. .	4, 8, 9
Gratiæen, L. J. .. .. .	141	„ Dharma Parākrama Bāhu .. .. .	5
Guardiahewagē Families .. .. .	10	„ Dutugemunu .. .. .	3, 4, 109
Guardiavasam Families .. .. .	10	„ Gaja Bāhu .. .. .	2, 20ff
Gunaratna, Mudaliyar F. E. .. .. .	2	„ Godapola .. .. .	189
Gunasekara, Mudaliyar A. Mendis .. .. .	105	„ Jaya Bāhu .. .. .	17
Gunawardhana, Mudaliyar W. F. .. .. .	105ff, 138, 226ff	„ Kirti Sri .. .. .	110
<b>H.</b>		„ Kitti Sirinegha .. .. .	17ff
Hair, Fashions in .. .. .	15	„ Mahasena .. .. .	3
Hakmada .. .. .	190	„ Mahinda .. .. .	4
Haloluwa .. .. .	190	„ Mānābharana .. .. .	17ff
Hamapola .. .. .	205	„ Nemi-Sakkaram .. .. .	2
Hamilton, Col. Edward .. .. .	42, 43	„ Nissanka Malla .. .. .	8
Hantane .. .. .	207	„ Panduv as .. .. .	207
		„ Parākrama Bāhu .. .. .	2





	PAGE		PAGE
Peta-Vatthu, The .. .. .	155-163, 193-204	Sinhalese Maledictory and Benedictory verses ..	151ff
Petch, T. .. .. .	47, 63, 169, 233	„ Plant names .. .. .	167-179
Philipsz, Rev. G. .. .. .	141ff	„ Royalty, The last scions of ..	58-62, 127-135
Philosophy of Religion, Hegel's ..	74-89, 164-168	„ Some beliefs among the ..	150-154
Pieris, Dr. Paul .. .. .	2, 10, 11, 118	Siridevi rock .. .. .	19
Pilima Talauwa .. .. .	181	Sirimalvatta .. .. .	191
Pinhao, Simao .. .. .	5	Sitá, Princess .. .. .	205
Plant Names, Sinhalese .. .. .	169-179	Sitá-aggala .. .. .	33
Plants and Trees of Ceylon, Some Ancient ..	23-37, 90-104	Siyané-Kórale .. .. .	2
Pole, Henry .. .. .	114	Slave Island .. .. .	63ff
Polonnaruwa .. .. .	8, 20ff	Snake .. .. .	7
Polvatta Vihára .. .. .	110	Solar Race of Kings .. .. .	1
Popular Cults of the Jaffna District ..	12-16, 148, 149	Sousa, Faria Y. .. .. .	10
Portuguese MSS for the History of India ..	235-237	Southern Province, Antiquities in the ..	38-41
Pridham .. .. .	6	Southorn, W. T. .. .. .	43
Prince of Jaffna, Crown .. .. .	7	Spottiswood, Col. .. .. .	114, 115
Prince Vidiye Bandára .. .. .	3	Sprigs on Karáve Flag .. .. .	8
Ptolemy .. .. .	4	Sri Vikrama Rája Sinha, King ..	110, 180ff, 183, 186
Punaryn, Threshing in .. .. .	15	Stace, W. T. .. .. .	74, 164ff
Punkhagama .. .. .	18	Star Emblems .. .. .	1
Pusulpitiya Vihára .. .. .	109	Storey, Harry .. .. .	17
Puttalam .. .. .	1, 2, 10	Stories, Some Sinhalese Folklore ..	244-246
Puttur, The Well of .. .. .	15	Story, The Courtesan's .. .. .	246-250
<b>R.</b>		Suffrein, Admiral .. .. .	44
Rájádhurája I, King .. .. .	4	Sun and Moon Flag .. .. .	1
Rája Sinha, King .. .. .	10, 189	Sun Emblems .. .. .	1
Rája Sinha II, King .. .. .	110, 183, 205	Sun Flowers .. .. .	8
Rakáva .. .. .	207	Sundara Pándya, King .. .. .	4
Ranamure .. .. .	20	Superstition in Ceylon .. .. .	150-154
Rankot Malu Dágoba .. .. .	41	Suriyavamsa, The .. .. .	8
Rantamba .. .. .	205	Sword and Trident as Royal Emblems ..	5
Rávaná kodiya .. .. .	1	<b>T.</b>	
Relics, Dodanwala Devále .. .. .	206, 207	Talagalla Tank .. .. .	18
Religion, Hegel's Philosophy of ..	74-89, 164-168	Taláva Vihára .. .. .	109
Rice in the Vanni, New .. .. .	15	Talvalai ruins .. .. .	119, 120
Rice-Sower's Chant, A .. .. .	232	Tamil family .. .. .	10
Rikiligasgoda .. .. .	191	Tanks .. .. .	18
Rivers, Kandyan .. .. .	112, 113	„ Taprobanian," Neville's ..	3, 6, 8
Rowel Family .. .. .	10, 11	Temple, Sir R. C. .. .. .	210
Royal Botanic Gardens, Early History of ..	63-73	Temples in North Ceylon .. .. .	12ff
Royalty, Emblems of .. .. .	1-11	Threshing in Punaryn .. .. .	15
Royalty, The last Scions of Sinhalese ..	58-62, 127-135	Tiyambara .. .. .	208
Ruins at Kubukkandana, Ancient ..	43	Topaz .. .. .	210-219
Ruins in Jaffna, Some .. .. .	118-120	Torches .. .. .	5, 6
Russell, Dr. (Dean) .. .. .	116	Totahewage families .. .. .	10
<b>S.</b>		Traditions, Kandyan .. .. .	112, 187-192, 205
Saccakiriya .. .. .	239	Trees, Names of Sinhalese .. .. .	169-179
Sanghamitta .. .. .	8, 9	Trees of Ceylon, Some Ancient Plants and ..	23-37, 90-104
Sankili, King of Jaffna .. .. .	10	Trees, Palmyra .. .. .	15
Sankiliya-tidal ruins .. .. .	120	Trident and Sword as Royal Emblems ..	5
Sannasa, Uggalboda .. .. .	6	Trimen, H. .. .. .	63ff
Saraggama .. .. .	20	Tulloch, Lt. .. .. .	44
School in Ceylon, First English .. .. .	141-147	Turner, L. J. B. .. .. .	141
Schroter, Rev. .. .. .	141ff	Tuppahi .. .. .	210-219
Selegama .. .. .	20	<b>U.</b>	
Seminary at Wolfendahl .. .. .	141	Uggalboda .. .. .	68
Senarat, King .. .. .	189	Uggalboda Sannasa .. .. .	6
Senaveratna, John M. 23, 38, 90, 116, 169, 179, 220, 230, ..	239	Umbrella, Pearl .. .. .	3, 4
Senevirat, Lankadhikára .. .. .	110	Uva .. .. .	3
Sewell, Mrs. .. .. .	181	Uva, Prince of .. .. .	10, 189
Shields .. .. .	7	Uva Rebellion .. .. .	44
Sigiriya .. .. .	191	<b>V.</b>	
Sinhalese and the Aryan Languages ..	105-107, 137-140, 226-229	Vachcha-nattu-dhevarur .. .. .	2
Sinhalese Folklore Stories, Some ..	244-246	Valagam Báhu, King .. .. .	110, 190
„ Heraldry, Ancient .. .. .	4, 8	Valahagoda Vihára .. .. .	110
„ Kings, Coronation of .. .. .	220-225	Vanavása Kudá Vihára .. .. .	41

	PAGE		PAGE
Vanni, New rice in the .. .. .	15		
Vanni Virgins, The .. .. .	12, 120		
Varnakula Aditta .. .. .	10		
Vasabha, King .. .. .	116, 117		
Vas-kavi—see "Maledictory verses."			
Vatthu, The Peta .. .. .	155-163, 193-204		
Vérak-kádu ruins .. .. .	119		
Verses, Maledictory .. .. .	237		
Verstraeten, Rev. Fr. A. M. .. .. .	164		
Vidiye Bandára, Prince .. .. .	3		
Vijaya, King .. .. .	8, 230-232		
Vijaya Báhu, King .. .. .	17		
Vijayapála, Prince .. .. .	189		
Vikrama Báhu, King .. .. .	47, 48		
Vikrama Rája Sinha, King Sri .. .. .	110, 180ft, 185, 186		
Villages, Some degraded .. .. .	191, 192, 209		
Vimala Dharma Súriya, King .. .. .	5, 208		
		<b>W.</b>	
		Warnesúriya-adappan .. .. .	2
		Watson, Wm. .. .. .	72
		Watt, Rev. Mr. .. .. .	114
		Wattegama .. .. .	192
		Wewalagoda stone .. .. .	205, 206
		Wickramanayaka, A. B. .. .. .	183
		Wijetunga, Wilmot P. .. .. .	150
		Wilson, Capt. George .. .. .	46
		Wolfendahl, Academy at .. .. .	41
		<b>Y.</b>	
		Yatawatta Pass .. .. .	20
		Yaturu-gehu-liyadda Vihára .. .. .	109
		Young, Capt. Thomas .. .. .	46

### ERRATA.

Page	4.	Line	22.	for	"de regueur "	read	"de rigneur."
"	8.	"	27.	"	"Th "	"	"The "
"	12.	"	13.	"	"Pulopala "	"	"Pulopalai."
"	12.	"	19.	"	"Kurnichativu"	"	"Kurinchativu."
"	13.	"	2.	"	"Tunilimadam "	"	"Timilimadam."
"	13.	"	29.	"	"	"	"
"	40.	"	15, 28, 37	"	"Giribandu "	"	"Girihandu."
"	40.	"	23-4, 25-6,	"	"Mini-kimhe "	"	"Minikirulu."
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			the word	"	"Pújávaliya "		add "pages 184, 247."
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